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ARCHIVES

The Journal of the British Records Association

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ROOTS

BY THE LATE SIR HILARY JENKINSON, C.B.E., LL.D., F.S.A.

Presidential Address delivered at the Society's Annual General Meeting at the Lecture Theatre, Gresham College, City of London, on December 7, 1960.*

Introductory

IN TRYING to explain to lay Audiences what Archives are, and why it is important for them (the lay Audiences) that Archives should be preserved, and how it comes that their preservation demands knowledge and conditions different from those required for the preservation of other important things, I have (several times, I am afraid) used the similitude of Trees: pointing out the comparative obviousness of the beauty or use of boughs, leaves, flowers and fruit, all of them visible things, and *per contra* their absolute dependence on the roots, which are not visible nor, in many people's estimation, beautiful or usable. Not perhaps a very profound observation and anyhow I honestly did not propose to labour it on the present occasion; partly because I *have* used it before and partly because I am *not* now addressing a lay Audience. But as I grow older, and reflect with the addition of more and more years of experience, and some occasional side glancing at modern doubts and difficulties, I become more and more convinced that the apparent complexity of our jack-of-all-trades profession, with its jumbled elements of History, Palaeography and Mycology, Heraldry and Photography, Medieval Latin, Law and Architecture, Book-keeping by Double Entry and Book-binding by reputable methods, and an increasing number of other and stranger Crafts and Sciences, can still be resolved quite simply if we attach ourselves firmly to a few primary and unchanging essentials—Root Origins and Root Principles—and let them decide finally what the Archivist may and may not do. I have also seemed to note recently signs here and there that attention to fundamental principles is not invariably fashionable just now. Pondering these things I thought I would like at one more of these Meetings, at which you are good enough to let me give my Presidential hobby-horses an airing, to indulge in some random illustrations of these changes of attitude and of my own impenitent conservatism in regard to them.

Definitions: Old and New

Forty years ago, then, I ventured to propound a Definition of Archives or Records: partly because no one else seemed to have thought of doing so, at any rate in England, and partly because I was lecturing to the newly founded School of Librarianship at University College and needed one. (This was, of course, before the days of County Record Offices and Archivists: indeed the word Archives itself was rarely used in this country.) In defence of this act of audacity let me add that I was fortified by discussions with the colleague, C. G. Crump, under whom I first worked at the Record Office: one of many debts which I owe to a very good friend and fine scholar. Now, in 1960, I still believe that the Essentials and First Principles of which I have spoken are expressed or inherent in that Definition: with its insistence on *Natural Accumulation* (as opposed to artificial Collection), *Administrative Basis*, *Preservation primarily for Office Reference and Custody*; and on the *Applicability of this Definition to Documents of all kinds and dates*. For its phraseology I hold no particular brief: alter it if and as you will, provided those five elements remain.

This brings me to the first point upon which I had it in mind to comment—the appearance from time to time of that form of heresy which would offer us not merely a new but an *Artificial and Arbitrary Definition*: one based not on analysis of the thing defined but on such external considerations as convenience, or documentary form, or age. Do you think it unnecessary to dwell on so obvious an error? I cannot share that optimism. Have we not had within the last few years a prominent Archivist propounding in so many words the view that “the modern archivist” needs “to re-define archives in a manner more suited to his own requirements”: and has anyone thought what will be the result if Archivists in different countries, accepting Dr. Schellenberg's dictum that “the definition

* The corrected and extensively revised script of this Address, so far as is known Sir Hilary Jenkinson's last completed literary work, was passed by him for press on 29 January 1961, five weeks before his death. The Society is indebted to Mr. Roger H. Ellis for the checking of the proofs.—EDITOR

may be modified in each country to fit its particular needs", proceed each to reckon up what documents the distinctive conditions, laws and organisation of his country (and the interests of the more vocal of his country's Historians and Economists) make it convenient for him to label 'Archives'? That it will make an international meeting of Archivists even more suggestive of the Tower of Babel is the smallest of the ensuing evils.

Take again the acceptance of *Documentary Form* as a criterion in Definition; and therefore potentially in Arrangement. The disastrous effect of this upon great classes of the National Archives of France, Italy and England is an old story: but as a source of error the idea is not yet defunct. Only the other day in distinguished company I heard it solemnly maintained that two classes, both preserved in the Public Record Office, had different grades of quality as Public Records because of their diversity of form: one being a class of *Plea Rolls* and one of *Ministers' Accounts*.¹ Diverse? Of course they were diverse, not only in Form but in Content, Writing, Make-up and everything else, except one thing: but that one thing was vital—the fundamental fact that both were there because they had formed part of Central Public Administration. There lay the roots of both trees.

With the third question I mentioned—the possibility of *Age* as a criterion in definition—we come to a more comprehensive matter: the problem, looming larger every year, of the Records our own generation is compiling—their mass, their materials and their deplorable self-consciousness. Of that, if there is time, we may have something to say later: but the mere question of Ancient and Modern (Modern by the way, has a sad habit of becoming Ancient after a while) suggests another of the topics I had it in mind to mention.

The Time Factor

In considering Date or Age as an element which (apart from its physical effects in the shape of wear, decay and so forth) may affect the work of the Archivist we have to remember that it may operate two ways—call them vertical and horizontal—in the relations it establishes between one Archive, or Archive class, and others. On the one hand you have that Archive's relations, in a line above and below it, with its own ancestors and descendants. Those relations are vitally important for all the primary tasks of the Archivist who has charge of it—his Sorting, Arrangement, Listing, even his system of Packing and Make-up. Moreover they give him the necessary key to the significance of his documents: no one (if I may cite an old favourite) could see a continuity between Wooden Tallies of the nineteenth century, three feet or more in length and oddly notched and inscribed (which were all that were known to us when I first entered the Record Office), and the description of Tallies in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* till a find of thirteenth-century examples bridged the gap and incidentally started a whole train of speculations (still in progress) about the Royal Finances in successive centuries. Not that the Archivist indulges in speculation—he leaves that to the Historian—but he does want, and need, to know the How and Why and What of his Archives.

On the other hand the Time Factor, working side-ways, will establish the relations of a particular Record, or Record Class, not with predecessors or successors but with contemporaries, possibly in quite other classes. There is obviously some relation of the 'horizontal' kind to be established potentially in the case of two-thirds of the documents that past Administration has bequeathed to us; because you cannot have an original letter preserved by A., the recipient, without the possibility of a copy surviving in the otherwise unrelated Archives of B., the writer. Thus the Archives Nationales at Paris preserve the original Ratification of a Treaty of which a copy has been enrolled by the Prototary at the Chancery in London: the occurrence recorded by a Village Constable or Churchwarden has its sequel in a presentment among the Records of Quarter Sessions: and so on. The possibilities of such relations are unlimited so soon as writing becomes a general practice in the conduct of affairs at all levels.

¹ To anticipate (though I think it can hardly be necessary) the possible objection that many of these are in origin Private Archives, I must add a reminder that it is by no means unusual for classes of Archives to change, for administrative reasons, from one Group, and even from one Category, to another. Thus (to cite an old example) the Archives of the *African Company* of 1662 became part of those of a new Company in 1672 and both sets were turned over to yet a third body, the *Committee of Merchants trading to Africa*, in 1750: all three were private organisations but when, in 1820, the Nation assumed responsibility for West African affairs their Archives were vested with their Forts and other property, in the Crown and became, as from that date, Public Records.

Now relations of this kind are a necessary subject for study by the Historian or Editor: no one certainly could quarrel with the admirable footnotes, drawn from other classes in England and abroad, with which Mr. Chaplais is enriching the text of his excellent edition of the *Treaty Rolls* for the Public Record Office. But for the Archivist they are by no means so important because they do not or should not affect his practical work: they have for instance (or should have) nothing to do with his Arrangement of his Archives. The danger of their doing so is of course greater in the case of a composite Record Repository, housing not only a number of Groups but a number of Categories of Archives; Categories which, though they may exist harmlessly (even beneficially) side by side must never be coagulated.

Am I here hinting at dangers too familiar and elementary to be feared; errors to which it is not to be thought any properly trained Archivist could possibly succumb? In this presence I must hasten to agree. But what of the future? We are working for, and I hope approaching, a situation where all kinds of Institutions whose vision extends at present to nothing further than current or obsolescent Files will be moved to think a little in terms of permanent Archives; without (I fear) going further in many cases than to detail for the post of Archivist some member of an (archivistically speaking) un-trained staff. May not the tale then be different—disastrously different?

However, I am here approaching once more that subject which I have reserved for a concluding section. May I turn to another of my 'Essentials'; and I am afraid another and even earlier reminiscence.

The Administrative Basis

Forty-five years ago I ventured to propound to a small but select (and scandalised) audience of Historians, and afterwards to a slightly larger number of readers, the view that Palaeography and Diplomatic, in the strict sense in which those studies were understood, did not supply all the preliminary training necessary for students who proposed to embark, as increasing numbers were in fact embarking, upon Research in Records—generally Public Records, because few others were normally open to inspection. For many months I had been deep in the compilation of the work on Court Hands which C. G. Crump and Charles Johnson had planned and which Johnson and I executed; and fresh from the humiliating difficulty experienced in transcribing some of the facsimiles which we ourselves had selected, was able to say with conviction² that the Medieval Court Hands with which students would be confronted bristled with abbreviations, all-but-unreadable letter-forms and the like problems which no Palaeographical rules would enable them to solve; that correct reading depended in fact in a majority of cases on knowing in advance what the words to be read probably were, a knowledge which in most cases Diplomatic was as powerless as Palaeography to supply; that neither of these recognised aids to reading would, for example, enable us to extend insertions in the right-hand margin of a fifteenth-century *Receipt Roll*; and that the only sure basis on which to found was familiarity with the Office Routine that lay behind the Written Words. The answer to the despairing question which then arose, "If not Palaeography and Diplomatic what are we to teach our students before they come to your Search Room?" was in fact "Administrative History".³

But it was not only as a tool enabling Students to read the un-readable that Administrative History was commended. These and the year that followed the First War were the period which saw it raised to the position of a new and important section of History, to be studied for its own sake. Great days in the Round Room when Tout embarked⁴ on that study of the *Privy Seal* which, beginning as no more than a review of the work of a French Archivist⁵ ended in six volumes that came near to being a general History of Administration in Medieval England; when Bertha Putnam was bringing to life the medieval J.P.; when Miss Mills spent ten years in unravelling the complexities of a single membrane in one *Pipe Roll*,⁶ and J. F. Willard planned heroically a cross-section through the available

² A conviction not lessened by experience some years after, with the Later Court Hands.

³ I think it was Crump, not I, who actually made that reply to no less a Medievalist than C. H. Haskins, of Harvard.

⁴ I believe I was privileged to be present at the embarkation.

⁵ Eugène Dèprez, *Etudes de Diplomatique Anglaise*.

⁶ The Surrey membrane for the year 1295. The complexities involved research in other *Pipe Rolls* extending, backwards and forwards, over nearly 200 years.

Records of a short period of the fourteenth century in search of administrative details at all levels. Many disciples since have followed the trails blazed by these and other pioneers: but of late I have seemed to discern signs of revolt, of Historians saying that Administrative History has had a long enough innings and it is time that some other variety of History went in.

From the point of view of the Historian this position may very possibly be justified; but those who take it (and I fear one or two have been Archivists) are liable to make the old mistake of assuming that the point of view of the Historian must of necessity be that of the Archivist also: and this assumption in the present case (and in others; for instance that of Publication) is, I submit, wrong. For the Archivist the study of Administrative History is a matter not of choice but of necessity: he not only needs it as a background but must from time to time engage himself actively in extending it for the immediate purposes of his own work; and I do not think the date up to which this remark applies can be limited. Certainly it may extend far beyond the medieval, as anyone who has had to deal with the earlier *Sessions Records* will probably have found; and the largely uncharted ocean of Borough Records (especially the Legal and Accounting series) will in due course provide not only a large number of individual fields for research in this subject but, when sufficient material has accumulated, opportunities for synthesis and comparison. A number of other categories might be mentioned which probably include types of Archive with forms peculiar to themselves—clear enough to the man who wrote them but by no means clear to anyone else.

I will even hazard a guess that the tale might be carried down to our own time in some cases. Certainly, to judge by modern Records of this kind that I have seen, those charged with large series of modern Accounting Archives will find it both valuable and interesting to trace the Rise, Decline and Fall of that once venerable Record the *Ledger* and its satellites. I am afraid it is too much to hope that they will restore it to its former usefulness and pride of place—loose-leaf and code letters have done their work too well.

Learning to Read: the Established Course

Once more I have been trespassing on my own preserves, anticipating my own concluding remarks: but before I finally reach these there is one more topic—or perhaps resumption of a topic on which I have already dwelt—one more point at which, as it seems to be, we do not altogether or always get at the root of the matter: that of the Reading of Archives. It is different from the other topics on which I have touched, for Writing cannot be said to be an element in any definition of Archives though it and its peculiarities may be closely associated with (indeed form part of) the History of Administration: but I venture to think it is of some moment for it concerns the training of Student Archivists and has been occurring to me in so practical a connexion as the examination of candidates for the Diploma in London University.

When I speak of 'the root of the matter' in this connexion I am not referring to the origin of the Alphabet but to the basic principles from which students may be trained to approach the problem of learning to read English Records of all dates with ease and accuracy. I have no desire to prescribe for our Archivist a course in Roman or Greek Palaeography, not to mention more remote sources. It may be taken as generally accepted that to be a competent reader he need push his studies no further back than to the Caroline Minuscule, and even this only in the late development of it which we find in our earliest Records—*Domesday* and original *Royal Charters*. As a starting point it is very convenient not only because the letter forms are nearly all recognisable by their similarity to the 'Roman' of modern printing but because all the writings in which English Archives will appear from that time onwards can definitely be shown to derive from it through unbroken series of developments. When therefore the teaching of what was rather grandly called 'Palaeography' began in the newly founded School of Librarianship about 1920 the course laid down for it was to begin at the point in the twelfth century when the 'Court Hands' first came to be distinguished from 'Text' and follow them down through all their subsequent growths and variations until they were finally superseded (or practically superseded) by derivatives of the Italic in the eighteenth. It is to be remembered that when this teaching began the students were all Librarians; that it was a growing practice for Public Libraries to give house-room to documents of local interest which were in danger of destruction or dispersal; and that a large proportion of these refugees were *Deeds*, which might be of any date from

the twelfth century onwards and written in practically any of the varieties of 'Court Hand': so that the course proposed was justified by practical considerations. It was (and is) justified also as a teaching method in any case because there is no question that any student who has made himself really proficient in reading the small and highly current hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will have little difficulty in mastering any of their successors; not excluding the 'Secretary' and 'Special Set Hands' of the sixteenth and seventeenth. It had (and has) only one drawback—that students, however hard they try, will never succeed in reading accurately the earlier writings unless they are fairly competent Latinists. For their teachers that has constituted from the first a major problem.

Learning to Read: a Compromise

As a result of that problem it has since been urged that there is a case for allowing students who have not the Latin to start their studies of Court Hands at the point where a large proportion of the documents written in the hand which is most commonly in use (the 'Secretary') are in English. There is something in the suggestion subject to certain provisos; and it is in regard to the two most important of these that I take up my parable.

The first is obvious but not perhaps very easy to comply with: it is that the person concerned should be reasonably certain that he or she will not be called on to read documents of earlier date than (say) the later sixteenth century. The second requires rather more exposition.

The medieval writer of 'Court Hands'—whoever (an uncertain point) were his teachers and whatever the copies set before him—was himself actively involved in the development of new letter forms and styles which was going on all the time. The school-boy of the later Tudor period, on the other hand, came into a world where the old oral teaching was being superseded; where printing was fixing the basic form of letters permanently; where Writing Masters and printed Copy Books abounded; and where he was set to learn for ordinary purposes (he often had to learn others as well) two alphabets whose forms (whatever he might make of them in his private practice later) were more or less standardized. He thus acquired, from printed facsimiles, hand-writings which were being taught at the same time in the same way to thousands of other boys. The modern reader who elects to start from this half-way house between medieval and modern will be (as his prototype was) the poorer for not knowing the quite logical and sensible reasons for a number of things which will strike him as illogical and unintelligible; such as the reason why the original simple form of many capital letters is camouflaged and obscured by meaningless extra strokes and how it comes that the small *e* is apparently written backwards; and there are certain difficulties, such as the very small highly current *Legal* and the oddities of the *Pipe Roll* Hands, with which no Writing Master's Book will help him. But he can, if he will, have an advantage which we can never have in the case of medieval writing—that of approaching the documents he has to read on the same footing of equality with the writers as we have when dealing with the writing of our contemporaries: because he can, if he likes, learn to read in the same way as the seventeenth-century writers learned to write, and from the same models. It is of course a condition that he shall bestow as great pains on learning the letter forms as they did: he might, in fact, do worse than practice writing one or other of the 'Secretary' styles himself. The task is laborious perhaps, but not difficult: and I confess I have little sympathy with the Student (or for that matter the Historian) who makes mistakes in transcription because he has not troubled to learn his alphabets as they are given in the pages of Cocker and a dozen other Masters, earlier or later.

The next stage, so far as writing is concerned, is that in which it ceases completely to be a subject of special study. We come in fact at last to our concluding section or sections, that King Charles' head which has so obstinately intruded prematurely into every point I have endeavoured to make with you up to now: the problem (or rather—for there are many—the problems) of the Archives piling up in our own day.

Those Modern Documents

I have taken up (you may think) a great deal of time with repetition of things I had myself said already in some distant past. I can only plead that it was not altogether vain repetition, because my object was deliberately to re-affirm. I repeated in this way my old Definition, re-stating all the Es-

entials which I believed to be inherent in it: all except one—the *Applicability of the Definition itself to Documents of all Kinds and Dates*.

I do not propose to deal in detail with the present situation, because that would be too long a task: but I think I may usefully put up for you a few friendly and tentative nine-pins. To begin, then, I will make bold to say that there is nothing in my old Definition which the nature of Modern Archives need compel me to withdraw or qualify. They *do* in the first instance accumulate naturally; they *are* the result of administrative activities; they *are* preserved primarily for purposes of reference by the persons or institutions that created them. Other preliminary matters, which may be taken as admitted facts, are first their enormous and at present inevitable *Mass*—a greater quantity than any of us conceived even during the War with the Army's monstrous consumption of paper going on under our eyes; then the *Duplication* or *Multiplication* resulting from the facilities offered to lazy or indifferent people by modern machinery; next the dubious quality of most of the *Materials* used; and finally the ultimate necessity for some measure of *Elimination* with the implied intrusion of *Selection*: an old trouble, this last, for some of us have been eliminating (and looking for some criterion for retention) these many years; but now intensified.

With certain problems resulting from these facts we must not attempt to deal now; because they are questions of practice, to be worked out as they arise and varying with circumstances: I mean the problems of Space, Staff, Repair and Make-up and a concomitant—Means as well as Ways.

Remain certain large questions to plague you who have not the one advantage which is mine—that of being old. May I tabulate half-a-dozen, with perhaps here and there a tentative personal comment?

1. *Is this increase of size to be regarded as an evil which will go on, perhaps even grow worse?*
I think myself it will diminish (though how soon cannot be predicted) with the introduction of substitutes for writing—mechanically recorded speech, for example.

2. *Is our trouble only the increased size of existing Archive Sources? What about New Categories of Archives from sources not hitherto archive-producing?*

It is a disburbing thought that we are, in some ways, doing our best to encourage this!

3. *What are to be*

- (a) the *Means of Lessening the production of Documents* which will turn into Archives? and/or
- (b) the *Criteria for Elimination* from those which are produced?

An Interpolation

The Grigg Committee on Departmental Records produced in its Report proposals which may seem to some extent applicable to Archives other than those of Central Administration.

(a) It proposed to attack the problem of over-production at the root: attacking, that is, the sections which in large offices have the charges of issuing and of filing; and which in many cases operate (it would seem) without the slightest thought of whether it is necessary even to make, let alone to keep, the mass of papers which modern machinery makes it so easy to produce.

(b) To meet the problem of Elimination the Committee began by accepting definitely the doctrine that a *First Pruning of Current Files* should take place soon enough for necessary knowledge of the circumstances in which they were produced not to have faded from recollection; should be undertaken by responsible staff acquainted with the business covered; and should be based on the primary question whether the documents were or were not necessary for 'Official Reference'.⁷

I do not imagine you will cavil at these common-sense proposals: I cannot because I enunciated them myself many years ago. But the Committee goes further by proposing a *Second Pruning* many years later, to be based on the probable or possible value of the documents for secondary purposes, those of research. I incline myself to think (for what my opinion is worth) that, failing substantial

⁷ I think that at this point we might usefully give to 'Official Reference' a slightly more precise definition. I have always put it that Preservation should be of such an order that even if a piece of business or a section of organisation had been discontinued for some considerable time surviving files would enable it to be taken up again without difficulty or delay.

diminution in the accruals of written matter in the ways I have suggested as possible, though problematic, in the future, this ultimate intrusion of selection based on the interests of research is inevitable. But note that *none of the pruning processes is made the task of the Archivist*. The business of the Keepers of Archives is still, as Sir Thomas Hardy once put it, to keep them.

Resuming

4. Are the Records of our own day, or the latest ones beginning at some fixed date, to be separated off from the more ancient, possibly with some specious distinction of title, such as 'Modern' and 'Historical'? (Again you will notice a point coming up which we have already approached.) I have no doubt there will be found persons to support some such proposals. My only comment would be that already made—or inferred—that severance at an arbitrarily fixed date means a severance of vital relations. If the proposal is made on grounds of economy of staff or space, it is one which has been discussed not infrequently in the past in connexion with the Public Records (there actually was, of course, a separate State Paper Office for many years; and within my own recollection there was a proposal to create a separate Record Office for Departmental Records) and the balance was always found to be against it. A far preferable alternative is to divide the actual Repository (the buildings) on grounds purely of convenience in management, but to maintain a single controlling authority.

5. A more reasonable case for severance might be found on other grounds and in view of really novel conditions: the suggestion might well be made that there was a case for separate housing and separate management for the documentary remains of activities which have no roots in the past, products entirely of our own times. It is a large question and I do no more than voice it: but it is not difficult to think of some—many—great and newly established scientific or industrial or even commercial concerns or institutions, or possibly an aggregation of several such institutions of like quality and function, the Archives of which might suitably be treated in this way and not joined to any existing local or even National Archive Organisation. There might be a strong argument, in view of the special nature of the activities which gave birth to these Archives, for a Repository specially equipped and with a Staff having technical knowledge of the activities in question.

6. This leads me to a final question which is to me the most interesting of all—that of the Specialist Staff which may undertake the care of Archives accumulating in such Institutions, or Bodies, or Concerns, as I have imagined; and the relation of them, their work and their training to those of the more ordinary Archive organisations with which we are familiar.

Specialised Archives and Specialising Archivists

Shall we try for a moment to envisage the needs and nature of an Officer in charge of the Documents accumulating in such an Institution, Body or Concern?

(a) His employers will require him (and he will need) to have had some training, in whatever may be the scientific or other specialised knowledge which they require of their more highly graded staff: he will, in fact, before he becomes an Archivist, have received the education of a Scientist rather than a Humanist.

(b) He will not contemplate changing over at any future date to what we may call ordinary Archive work; and will not, therefore, need or wish to acquire proficiency in many of the studies which are necessities for (e.g.) a County or Borough Archivist: he will not need Palaeography, nor a great deal of History, nor Medieval Latin or French; though he will probably, instead of these last, need some foreign language or languages.

(c) On the other hand it is most desirable that he should be affiliated to the Archivist's profession as practised elsewhere. The documents he will have in charge, though wildly different in content (and different, in some cases, in form) from those normally found in a County or Borough Repository will still be Archives, conforming readily to the standards expressed in our Definition, Archives in quality and to be guided by the same principles and sorted, numbered, listed according to like rules.

(d) Though not enabled by knowledge and training to undertake many of the ordinary tasks performed by 'ordinary' Archivists he should acquire at least background knowledge, some acquaintance with the nature, requirements and conditions of their work, and may reasonably expect his 'ordinary'

colleagues to reciprocate: and there are some branches of study which they might well (I would even venture to say "which they ought") to pursue in common during their period of training.

The Conclusion of the Matter

I must not prolong this Plutarchan examination into the parallel lives of the Specialising and the General Archivist; nor is it our business here to lay down Schedules of Study. But I suggest to you, as a matter of immediate and real importance, that the Specialising Archivist (as I have called him) is coming; that we want him to come and want him to co-operate with us; and that it may be a wise thing to formulate now (or to secure their formulation) the conditions which will make such co-operation possible and fruitful.

LIMITS

BY FELIX HULL, B.A., PH.D.

THE DISCUSSION on the Educational Use of Archives at the 1960 British Records Association Conference, and that on postal enquiries at our own Annual General Meeting raised the question of the extent to which we can afford staff time for matters which are only partly archival. The question "to what limit ought we to go?" seemed to me to be fundamental and yet to remain unanswered. We were urged to make more material available to teachers and schools; to leave our normal activities, if need be, to spread the gospel of the use of original documents in teaching; to link ourselves more and more closely to the educationist's bandwagon; and to devote an increasing proportion of our time and energies to activities which, however valuable, tend to be on the fringe of our professional lives.

As a result, while stimulated and interested by the passionate appeal made to us, we were left uncertain of the path which should be followed and the discussion in each case tended to fall somewhat flat. Nearly all could point to some aspect of educational work which was being undertaken; everyone was engaged, to some degree, in answering postal enquiries; but no one felt able to give a directive, right or wrong, as to the limit of time, energy and resources to be used in semi-archival duties.

In view of this it seems to me that a restatement of certain simple and largely common sense principles is desirable, if only because of the variety of factors which were mentioned in discussion many of which are important and vary from office to office. It is inevitable that our work and its development depend upon such matters as the amount of money available, the resources of staff time and knowledge, our links with other bodies—Education Committees and the like, and not least perhaps our own inclination and sense of purpose. Such matters will determine to a considerable degree what we do, how we do it and the pace at which we develop wider activities. They are also apparent in the obvious differences between small and large repositories and between those which are old established and those which are still relatively young. Mr. Emmison himself said that a wide educational service could not be embarked upon without the basic duties of cataloguing, etc., having been accomplished.

Some of us are able indeed to cover our uncertainties by our enthusiasms and where resources are large enough by the appointment of specialists to plan a particular aspect of development, thereby thinking that we have resolved the problem. In fact we have merely chosen to push it to one side and to ignore it. As archivists we must surely face this exceedingly difficult question and, although our circumstances and our inclinations are bound to affect the decisions we take, it should be possible to lay down certain criteria which should not be infringed.

In what follows there is no intention of providing more than a guide which may be of use in determining the limits to which we should go. Some may disagree, if so, I hope someone will see fit to reply to this article, for discussion when divorced from personalities and related to the bases from which our work springs, is surely desirable.

The late Sir Hilary Jenkinson in his 1960 Presidential Address¹ urged us to seek out again the roots from which archive work derives and it is still worthwhile to restate his concise definition of the duties of the archivist as set out on page 15 of *Archive Administration*:

"The duties of the Archivist . . . are primary and secondary, In the first place he has to take all possible precautions for the safeguarding of his Archives and for their custody, which is the safeguarding of their essential qualities. *Subject to the discharge of these duties* he has in the second place to provide to the best of his ability for the needs of historians and other research workers. But the *position of primary and secondary must not be reversed*".

That was written before local offices developed, and the author was subject to differing pressures from those which affect the lives of many of us to-day, yet what he wrote remains fundamental to the proper functioning of our offices and any slight modifications we may suggest do not alter the primary concept of our duties.

Archivists in local government are in a peculiar and often anomalous position. We are responsible to chief officers and to Committees, to the *Custos*, to Ordinaries of the Dioceses within which our bailiwick lies, to a host of depositors private and public and also, in certain respects, to the Master of the Rolls, to the Keeper of Public Records and through him to the Lord Chancellor. In this work we build up a special relationship of trust with these various persons and bodies, and I would therefore suggest that the first criterion to be laid down which should determine the limits of our wider activity is this:—

1. "Never act in such a manner that the relationships between the record office and the authority it serves or the depositors it assists are in any way infringed or seriously weakened."

This may appear axiomatic and simple common sense but I believe it needs restating. We have, perforce, to limit access to certain documents. We must have a regard to the evidential value of certain records and limit our behaviour in regard to them on the basis of that value. Legal custody implies the application of limits which if broken infringe this first criterion. If we lend records for exhibition on occasions, certain classes and individual documents must be restricted on this ground alone. The use of private archives, not in the legal possession of the authority by gift or purchase, for purposes of a legal character is also clearly bound by this rule. We depend upon public goodwill to a considerable degree and the casual and uncontrolled use of other people's documents for purposes which may be inimical to their interest is clearly an infringement of the relationship between archivist and depositor.

The second criterion which I should adopt, again unfortunately negative in presentation, is this:—

2. "Never take any action or allow any activity which may jeopardise the physical safety of the records in your care."

Quite clearly this can be applied in a wide or narrow sense, but we all of us place some limit on the use of documents in the search room if we feel it would be detrimental to them. None of us puts a document on permanent display where there is bound to be a serious effect from the constant impact of natural light. Surely this is the criterion which should determine our method in regard to school children in the mass. Documents may stand many years of good handling with little effect, a few minutes laxity can destroy valuable evidence. Even the constant use of particular documents for lecture or display purposes tends to the deterioration of those items as most of us know, and no amount of repair, however good, can replace what is lost. That it seems to me is the answer to the enthusiast who wants children to feel documents. There may be circumstances when it can be permitted, but the widespread practice (and it can apply to adults equally well), opens the door to many dangers which cannot be ignored however we may hope to guard against them.

These two points are primarily concerned with the proper custody of records. My third criterion concerns us as persons and as archivists—quite simply it is:—

3. *We must be ourselves.*

Two or three times during the meetings in December 1960 the phrase 'jack of all trades' was used in connection with the archive profession. This is all very well and it may be true, but let us never

¹ *Supra*, p. 131 sqq.

forget that that saying has a most dangerous corollary—'master of none'. We are archivists not educationists despite a proper interest in education and, in exactly the same way, we are archivists and not historians despite our proper interest in historical research. It may be that the more we assume these other professions the less we shall be able to carry out objectively the duties for which we are primarily appointed. I have a fear, to return to the President's metaphor of a tree, that if we concentrate too much of our attention on the branches and twigs of our tree, we shall discover in time that the trunk has rotted and is now a hollow sham of what it should be.

What has been said here will be interpreted by each of us in the light of his own circumstances. It is a problem which most seriously affects the heads of repositories, yet each assistant archivist must in his or her own way face these same problems and determine how the criteria mentioned and possibly others like them can be applied. We should be as enthusiastic for the proper care and use of records as our friends who are not archivists may be for their exploitation and it does appear to me that a reminder from time to time of our initial function and duty and the determination at all times to keep our own integrity as archivists will enable us to decide upon limits which are both correct and reasonable. Utter rigidity is not desirable and we will, to a certain extent, determine our own limits according to circumstance and possibly inclination, but it is essential that we face each of these problems as archivists and not as 'pseudo-whatever it may be'. The sky may be the limit, but if so it must have been reached by the proper use of our resources and according to correct basic rules.

CANTERBURY ARCHIEPISCOPAL ARCHIVES IN LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY¹

BY DOROTHY M. OWEN, M.A., F.S.A.

Introduction

THE ARCHBISHOPS of Canterbury retained until the Reformation a relatively simple administration for the spiritualities, diocesan, metropolitan and legatine and the temporalities belonging to their state, which is reflected in the surviving medieval registers, charters and court rolls. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the archiepiscopal "departments of state" clearly separated themselves from the household and became independent offices held by officials with life patents who accumulated in their registries or places of business the records of their administration. When the public library of Lambeth had been founded by the will of Archbishop Bancroft in 1610 the manuscripts which were in the Palace evidently passed by degrees into the keeping of the librarians who took over among them the registers and other medieval records bound as volumes, as well as loose rolls and charters. These form the nucleus of the archive accumulations now at Lambeth and it was not until after the recent war that the "departments" of the Vicar General, Master of the Faculties and Official of the Court of Canterbury handed over their records to the Librarian's keeping. Although the medieval archives are relatively well known it seemed desirable for the sake of completeness to preface with some description of them the following account of the whole accumulation now administered by the library. For a variety of reasons it has been difficult to see at any earlier stage a complete picture of this accumulation; the following account is offered as no more than an interim report which may well be altered in detail in the future.

¹ I am grateful to Mr. E. G. W. Bill, Librarian and Archivist, for the opportunity to do the work on which this paper is based.

Archives in the Library

The late Dr. Churchill has demonstrated with abundant illustration,² the nature and variety of the medieval registers of the archbishops of Canterbury and of the administrative system by which they were produced. These registers, beginning in 1278 and continuing with gaps between 1327 and 1349 until the present time³ are the principal record of the archbishops before 1500 and contain notes of the larger part of his activities as diocesan and as metropolitan. They contain such diocesan administrative acts as ordinations, ordinations of vicarages, grants of letters dimissory, admissions to benefices, sequestrations, confirmations of monastic elections, and visitations within the diocese and peculiars of Canterbury, as were not already confided to the care of the commissary general of the diocese and the nature of which may be fully appreciated from the editions of the registers of Winchelsey, Langham, Chichele, and Bouchier which have been published by the Canterbury and York Society. The records of the commissary general, whose activities have been described by the late B. L. Woodcock⁴ have remained at Canterbury, which appears always to have been the centre of his administration and where they are now to be found divided between the Chapter Library and the commissary's modern repository.⁵

Some of the records of the metropolitan activities of the archbishops are well known from the extracts printed in the great national collections of sources which were compiled by Thomas Rymer⁶ and David Wilkins,⁷ the last named being himself Lambeth Librarian from 1715 to 1718. These two were principally interested in the records of the meetings of convocation of Canterbury and their relation to the general history of the country; papal and royal taxation and the trials of heretics are the primary topics of interest. The sixteenth-century registers were to yield a harvest of similar material of national interest in the works of Protestant history and martyrology published by John Foxe⁸ and John Strype.⁹ Other aspects of metropolitan administration, however, fill much of the registers. The jurisdiction of the Archbishop over the vacant sees of the province and the confirmations of the elections of the suffragans of the province produced a large section of registers of acts, chiefly ordinations and institutions, performed by archiepiscopal officials in vacant sees and of consecrations and professions of bishops. The right to metropolitan visitation of the province gave rise to a long series of visitation records.¹⁰ The exercise of the archiepiscopal prerogative to the probate of testators leaving *bona notabilia* in more than one diocese of the province of Canterbury filled large sections of the registers of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,¹¹ though from the late fourteenth century onwards separate registers of wills, not duplicating those at Lambeth, have survived and now form the earliest records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Miss Churchill demonstrates¹² that these registers now at Somerset House, were kept for a long period, possibly until after 1665, with the main archiepiscopal registers and should be regarded as part of the same series of records.

By contrast the archbishop's Court of Canterbury, otherwise known, apparently from its place of meeting, in the church of the Blessed Mary de Arcubus, Bow Church, as the Court of Arches, seems to have had separate records, quite independent of the archiepiscopal registers, from the late fourteenth century onwards.¹³ The only survivor from the medieval records of this court appears to be the compilation of statutes and customs of the court known as the Black Book of the Arches from

² "Canterbury Administration", *Church Historical Society*, 2 vol., 1933.

³ The registers before 1532 are briefly described by E. F. Jacob, "The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York", *St. Anthony's Hall Publications*, No. 4. London 1953.

⁴ *Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury*. Oxford, 1952, pp. 6-29.

⁵ Pilgrim Trust Survey of Ecclesiastical Archives, typescript, no date, section Canterbury.

⁶ *Foedera Conventiones etc.*, 20 vols., London, 1727-36.

⁷ *Concilia Magnae Britanniae etc.*, 4 vols., London, 1737.

⁸ *Actes & Monumentes*, London, 1596.

⁹ *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1709; *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3 vols., 1721.

¹⁰ Churchill, *op. cit.*, I, 288-347; J. H. Dahmus, *The Metropolitan Visitations of William Courtenay Archbishop of Canterbury 1381-1396*, University of Illinois, 1950.

¹¹ J. C. Smith, "Calendar of Lambeth Wills, in *Genealogist*, new series, vols. xxxiv and xxxv; reprinted separately 1919; E. F. Jacob (ed.), *Register of Thomas Chichele*, Oxford, and *Canterbury and York Society*, 4 vol., 1937-47, vol. II, introduction and text.

¹² *Op. cit.*, 420 note 3, and 421-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 454-5.

which both Spelman and Wilkins printed extensive extracts and which Miss Churchill has described in detail.¹⁴

The medieval registers, therefore, incomplete as they are, are the central record of the archiepiscopal administration and although newer and more specialised types of record, for example of the meeting of convocation, appear in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, their pre-eminence continued at least until 1644. Since the Restoration they contain no material relating to convocation, probates, visitations and their record of diocesan business is not apparently complete but is supplemented by two series of act books, beginning respectively in 1663¹⁵ and 1717. The largest portion of the register is now taken up by the full records of the consecrations and professions of suffragans and acts performed in vacant sees. Nowhere among the records now at Lambeth are there any records of clerks admitted to Holy Orders by the archbishops after the Restoration.

Miss Churchill has shown, in a paper published in a Camden Miscellany,¹⁶ that in Archbishop Peckham's time and later, there was in St. Gregory's Priory at Canterbury a treasury for the charters of the see and that this repository continued in use even when a record tower is known to have existed at Lambeth. The documents kept there seem to have been, from the list printed by Miss Churchill, the charters of privilege and grant for which there can never have been daily need. Mr. A. J. Collins has recently demonstrated¹⁷ that they also included a number of the documents produced by the conflicts of 1213-15. Many of the charters known to have been at Canterbury appear to have been lost but a fair proportion of them is among a heterogeneous collection of documents known as *Cartae Antiquae et Miscellaneae*. This group of documents, many of them endorsed in the hand of Edmund Gibson who was Lambeth Librarian from c. 1699 to c. 1707 was mounted in thirteen large volumes before or during the librarianship of A. C. Ducarel (1757 to 1785) who numbered the documents and made a brief list and index of subjects which was amplified and copied in typescript by S. W. Kershaw, who was Lambeth Librarian 1883-1909. Documents similar to those in the volumes had been inserted about 1700 between the leaves of Lambeth MS. 959, which is a grangerised copy of Archbishop Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannice Ecclesie*.¹⁸ A number of related charters and other documents were found among the court rolls and listed with them in 1880 and still more have been found among unsorted miscellanea in Morton's Tower and are being placed with the rest of the *Cartae*. Since the recent war the thirteen great volumes, which had become very dilapidated, were split up and the contents stored in nineteen portfolios, though the original numeration has been retained. A list recently made of the *Cartae* has revealed the extraordinary variety of the documents contained in the collection, the largest single element in which is none the less, in one way or another, records of archiepiscopal administration. This section includes royal charters to the archbishops, ranging from the Magna Carta documents to a sequence of grants and exchanges by which Henry VIII obtained possession of large portions of the archiepiscopal properties. There are also a number of medieval muniments of title to archiepiscopal estates especially those at Beakesbourne and Sevenoaks (Knole) and to some Kent monastic houses (Christchurch Canterbury almonry and sacristy, Langdon, Leeds, Lesnes, Malling, Minster in Sheppey and Strood) which were briefly held by Cranmer during the period of the exchange.¹⁹ There are also miscellaneous groups of leases of archiepiscopal properties, vouchers and grants of stewardships and keeper-ships, the main series of which are to be found in the deposit made by the Church Commissioners. A few detached mediaeval documents represent diocesan administration but much more remains from the provincial and metropolitan jurisdiction. There are, for example, a number of papers in a dispute between Warham and his suffragans about the prerogative in probate cases, a group of papal indulgences brought in to be confirmed by the archbishop in 1537-8 after the abolition of the papal power, surveys of the state of the clergy 1584-1600, returns of fees in church courts, c. 1590, recusant bonds 1592-9 and papers

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 11, 206-210.

¹⁵ Indexes to the larger and more important series, 1663 to 1859 were compiled by Mr. E. H. W. Dunkin and have been published in the *Index Library*, vols. lv and lxiii, 1929 and 1938, ed. C. Jenkins and E. A. Fry.

¹⁶ *Camden Miscellany* xv, Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, 41, 1929, A table of Canterbury Charters.

¹⁷ The documents of the Great Charter, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxxiv, 1947, 233-79.

¹⁸ First edition, Lambeth 1572.

¹⁹ For a recent account of these see F. H. R. Du Boulay, Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 67, 1952, 19-36.

in the London tithe cause of 1634.²⁰

The other large group of documents among the *Cartae* relates to the mediaeval episcopal administration of the see of Norwich and to the abbey of St. Benet of Holme which at the Reformation passed into the hands of the bishops of Norwich.²¹ Similar documents are to be found in the Bodleian Library, which are known to be the gift of Thomas Tanner, chaplain to Bishop John Moore of Norwich chancellor of the diocese and commissary in two of its archdeacons. It seems possible that Tanner gave the Norfolk deeds now at Lambeth to his friend Edmund Gibson, whose hand endorses them.

A collection of documents similar to the *Cartae* is bound up in the two volumes known as Lambeth MSS. 643 and 644, which consist entirely of papal bulls arranged alphabetically under the names of the issuing popes and in many cases endorsed by Gibson.²² A few of these bulls are archiepiscopal muniments of title or privileges but the contemporary endorsements on many of them show them to have been muniments of monastic houses produced or exhibited on various dates between April and September 1537 and to be closely related to the indults found among the *Cartae*. Both groups are in fact part of the early records of the Faculty jurisdiction with which the archbishop was endowed at the Reformation and the operation of which is described below.

Only one cartulary of the medieval properties of the archbishops has survived at Lambeth: MS. 1212, which has been fully described by Miss Major.²³ A cartulary of Dover Priory (MS. 241) and fragments of a cartulary of the almonry properties of Christchurch (C.M. xiii/5) are evidently part of the muniments of monastic lands acquired by Cranmer.

When a representative of the Historical Manuscripts Commission visited Lambeth in 1877 he saw about fifty bags containing ancient documents the contents of which were not known and which he found to be uncatalogued court rolls and miscellaneous documents.²⁴ These documents were arranged, numbered and catalogued by the firm of S. A. Moore and R. E. G. Kirk in 1880; recently their list has been checked and amplified when fresh accessions of court rolls, belonging to the same groups, were received from the Church Commissioners during 1959-60. Like the *Cartae* the collection is of very mixed origin. By far the largest section was produced by the administration of the archbishop's estates. There are court rolls for the Kent, Surrey and Sussex manors and for some of the monastic properties already referred to, notably the bartoner, almoner and cellarer of Christ Church. In addition there are bailiffs' and receivers' accounts, many with vouchers attached and the receiver-general's accounts and vouchers which form the central accounting record of the archbishops after 1560.²⁵ In addition there are large groups of court rolls and accounts for Somerset manors belonging to the bishops of Bath and Wells as well as some rolls for manors belonging to the bishops of Chichester, Ely, Winchester and Worcester, all of which have evidently been brought to Lambeth by bishops translated from these sees to Canterbury. A series of court rolls of Norfolk manors belonging to St. Benet of Holme has the same provenance as the related documents in the *Cartae*. The court and account rolls of individual manors were arranged in a single alphabetical sequence regardless of their provenance and a list of the manors represented was printed by Nathaniel Hone.²⁷

Miscellaneous documents related to those in the *Cartae* were found and listed with the court rolls and so was a large group of Commonwealth presentation deeds which had become separated from other Commonwealth ecclesiastical records noticed below.

²⁰ Other papers in this dispute were bound up as Lambeth MSS. 272 and 273.

²¹ *V. C. H. Norfolk*, vol. II, ed. W. Page, 1906, 331.

²² A. Hackman, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars Quarta*, Oxford, 1860.

²³ Briefly described by W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, 1. Band, *Bibliotheken und Archive in London*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 191-201; and M. R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, I, Mediaeval, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 78-9.

²⁴ Acta Stephani Langton, *Canterbury and York Society*, vol. I, 1950, pp. 158-9; cf. G. R. C. Davis, *Mediaeval Cartularies of Great Britain*, London, 1958, p. 20 and Rosemary G. Barnes, *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, vol. xxxii, 1959, 56-62.

²⁵ *H.M.C. Sixth Report*, 1877, 522-4.

²⁶ Small groups of these rolls found their way into the records of the Augmentation Office during the period of exchanges, Public Record Office, *List and Indexes*, v, 422-5; vi, 222-307; xxxiv, 63.

²⁷ N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, Antiquary's Books, 1906, pp. 285-97.

²⁸ *A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace*, London, 1812.

The documents so far described seem to have found their way into the library at some time between the compilation of David Wilkins' catalogue of the library manuscripts which is still in the library, and which does not refer to most of them, and the publication of John Todd's *Catalogue* of 1812,²⁸ when a special section was devoted to Records. The source from which they came was, primarily, the Vicar general's great record store in Morton's Tower, which continued to yield a few documents, principally bound volumes, as successive librarians of the nineteenth century made brief incursions and removed act books, visitation and instance books and specula. With some slight exceptions the Faculty Office records appear to have remained unexplored though the Arches records, which were also in Morton's Tower, were examined by Canon Jenkins (Librarian 1910 to 1952) and Sir Lewis Dibdin, who compiled an index of some classes. In 1914 some 'tidying' of a few classes of peculiars documents in the Vicar General's Office was begun under Jenkins' supervision before the return of evidence to the Royal Commission on the Public Records²⁹ but the bulk of the records of the three classes—leaving aside the marriage licence documents—was unknown and untouched until after the recent war when they were seen by Miss L. M. Midgley during her survey of ecclesiastical records for the Pilgrim Trust. The records of the court of Arches had been sent to the Bodleian Library during the war and remained in Oxford until 1954; during that time they were sorted, arranged and listed by Miss M. D. Slatter. No work appears to have been done on the Vicar General's records before they and the Faculty office records were handed over to the custody of the Library in 1955 by which time the Arches records had also come into the Library and work began on the equipping of Morton's Tower as a record repository.

Vicar General

The records of the vicar general reflect the exercise of every function of archiepiscopal authority except the Court of Arches, the prerogative probate jurisdiction and the Faculty office and are therefore of the widest range and importance. The vicar general administered the peculiar jurisdictions of Shoreham, Croydon and Arches, did the diocesan business for which the Commissary general was not competent and was responsible for all the affairs of the province of Canterbury including Convocation and the vacancies of the suffragan sees. In addition, where the archbishop was called on to act for the whole of the church in England, he seems to have done so through the vicar general. The main record of this activity is the register, with its subsidiary act books, and other more detailed records have not survived in any bulk from before 1660. In the classes of document described below the earliest date is this in almost all cases.

The records of the peculiar jurisdiction are diocesan records in miniature.³⁰ They include induction mandates, subscription books, non-residence licences, glebe mortgages, dissenting meeting-house certificates, churchwardens' presentments and *libri cleri*, glebe terriers, letters testimonial and parish register transcripts (a very incomplete series), court books of office and instance jurisdiction, registers of faculties and marriage bonds and allegations. Wills and inventories for the Arches peculiar, with registers and act books covering all three jurisdictions, had been transferred to Lambeth from Somerset House in 1947 and have been classified with these records to which they belong. Such diocesan records as have been found here consist chiefly of documents connected with the qualification of clerks for receiving orders and with presentations and admissions to benefices. These were at first registered, as with subscriptions, curates' licences and non-residence licences, or kept in chronological series, as with letters testimonial for ordinands, surgeons and midwives and presentation and resignation deeds; but in the mid-nineteenth century the registry began, and continues, to keep

²⁹ Private information. The evidence about the library is in the *Third Report of the Royal Commission* (1919) III, 3, 82-3.

³⁰ The parishes within this jurisdiction are as follows:

Deanery of Arches: All Hallows Bread Street with St. John Watling Street, All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Dionis Backchurch, St. Dunstan in the East, St. Leonard Eastcheap, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Mary le Bow with St. Pancras Soper Lane, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Michael Royal, St. Vedast Foster Lane, City of London.

Deanery of Croydon. Harrow, Hayes with Norwood, Throckington, Middlesex. Barnes, Burstow, Charlwood, Cheam, Croydon, East Horsley, Merstham, Mortlake, Newington Butts, Putney, Wimbledon, Surrey.

Deanery of Shoreham. Bexley, Brasted, Chevening, Chiddingstone, Cliffe at Hoo, Crayford, Darenth, Downe, Eynsford, East Farleigh, Farningham, Gillingham, Grain, Halstead, Hayes, Hever, Hunton, Ifield, Ightham, Keston, Knockholt, East Malling, Meopham, Northfleet, Orpington with St. Mary Cray, Otford, East Peckham, Penshurst, Sevenoaks, Shoreham, Sundridge, Wrotham.

annual bundles labelled Canterbury papers (to distinguish them from those of other dioceses administered from the same office) each containing presentations, resignations, incumbents' declarations, letters testimonial and duplicate non-residence licences for the whole year. The diocesan records also include a good series of Specula³¹ or tabulated surveys of the diocese, a few of which had been inserted in the manuscript sequence (MSS. 1126 for 1662, 1137 for 1685 and 1138 for c. 1730) and bound up volumes of visitation returns, one set of which, for c. 1751, are known as MS. 1134. There is also an incomplete series of court books of office for 1541 to 1682.³²

The formal records of convocation consist chiefly of returned writs of summons, act books, the lower house's beginning in 1586 and the upper house's in 1640, schedules of prorogation and a mass of nineteenth-century petitions and other papers arranged in year bundles. Some more informal records of the period 1628 to 1724 are manuscripts 803 and 1173 and other convocation records are now with the Wake manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford.³³

The archiepiscopal claim to power over the spirituals of the vacant dioceses of the Canterbury province, which was firmly established by Archbishop Boniface and his successors,³⁵ has produced a mass of records, kept originally in separate files but at the present day included among 'Canterbury Papers'. There are presentation deeds, subscription books and act books (for the periods 1683 to 1809 and 1891 to 1929). An equally large group of documents is concerned with the elections and confirmations of diocesan bishops in which by an act of 25 Henry VIII c. 20, the archbishop receives letters patent signifying the royal assent to the election of a new bishop and ordering him to proceed to the confirmation.³⁶ There are chronological files, one for each confirmation, of the documents produced at the confirmation; a few earlier examples are among the *Cartae*. The metropolitan jurisdiction has also given rise to a series of petitions for faculties to alter episcopal dwellings and to the formal records of such trials of bishops as that of Thomas Watson of St. David's 1694 and Edward King of Lincoln 1889 to 1891. By powers conferred in a series of acts of Parliament beginning in 1786³⁷ the archbishop is also concerned with the appointment and consecration of colonial and overseas bishops where new provinces have not yet been created and files of letters patent of appointment, royal licences for consecrations, resignations and miscellaneous correspondence have been preserved. In virtue of the metropolitan powers the vicar general is able to grant 'common' marriage licences for the whole of the province of Canterbury and until 1755 had also issued 'special' licences, a privilege which after this date was confined to the Master of the Faculties.³⁷ The exercise of this power has produced marriage bonds, 1666 to 1823 and allegations, 1660 to the present time,³⁸ besides caveat books and correspondence.

As leader of the church in England the archbishop has on numerous occasions been employed by the Crown or by Parliament in semi-political activities which lie outside his sphere as metropolitan and diocesan. Much of the record of this activity is to be found in the informal papers bound up in the so-called Tenison and Gibson manuscripts (MSS. 639 to 943) and in the Wake and Tanner collections in Oxford. The later nineteenth-century record of this activity is to be found in the personal papers discussed later but there remain among the vicar general's records some returns of ecclesiastical fees, letters about plague and fire relief, 1665-6 and returns of the briefs granted for the aid of the Vaudois and Irish protestants in the later seventeenth century.

In his public capacity the Archbishop serves as Visitor of numerous educational and charitable foundations besides those schools and almshouses in his diocese for which as ordinary he has special responsibility. The most notable of these non-diocesan trusts for which papers have survived are the

³¹ This name is used in a prototype of the class for the diocese of Lincoln, portions of which were printed by R. E. G. Cole, *Lincoln Record Society*, vol. iv, 1913.

³² A court book for 1573 was printed by C. Jenkins, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix, 1911, 270-318.

³³ G. W. Kitchin, *Catalogus . . . Aedis Christi*, Oxford, 1867, pp. 63-72.

³⁴ Churchill *op. cit.*, I, 171.

³⁵ An account of the stages in this process is given by W. P. W. Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, 2nd ed., 1895, I, 38-40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 1769-93.

³⁷ By the decision of Dr. George Lee, Dean of Arches. Register of Archbishop Thomas Herring, f. 356-359v.

³⁸ An index of the allegations 1660-94 was published by G. J. A. Armytage, *Harleian Society*, vol. xxx, xxxi, xxxiii and xxxiv, 1890-2.

British Museum 1756-60, All Souls, Balliol and Merton Colleges at Oxford and Downing and Trinity at Cambridge.

Although after 1560 the archiepiscopal temporalities were administered by a Receiver general it seems clear that during the nineteenth century at least and perhaps earlier, the records of this office were kept in Morton's Tower with those of the vicar general. The court rolls and the title deeds and leases in the *Cartae*, as well as the papers removed by the Church Commissioners in the nineteenth century and recently re-deposited in Lambeth, came from this source but there were left behind with the vicar general's archives some volumes of eighteenth-century receiver general's accounts, the accounts and vouchers for the restoration of Lambeth and Addington palaces in 1829 to 1831 and several surveys of the estates, 1616 to c. 1800.

The day books, fee books, ledgers, seal accounts and letter books of the vicar general survive, though not in unbroken series, from 1714 and with them are the rentals, treasurers' accounts, fee books and commons books of the Society of Doctors Commons, for which the vicar general's office seems to have acted as agents.

Church Commissioners

These records of the archiepiscopal temporalities have been deposited in the Library during the current year. They consist of receiver general's accounts, 1663 to 1792, 1848-62, estate vouchers from 1605, a few surveys and valuations chiefly early nineteenth century, lease registers from 1678-1856, estate correspondence including many letters on parochial matters, 1686-1858 and counterpart leases for archiepiscopal properties, chiefly in Kent and Surrey, 1316-1863.

Court of Arches

The court of Arches records have been fully described by Miss Slatter in two articles.³⁹ To what she says there it is only necessary to add that apart from a single act book 1635-6, three sentence books 1560-1, 1622-3 and 1638-40 and seven muniment or exhibit books between the years 1554 and 1630, the records of the court do not begin before 1660.

Faculty Office

By the Peter's Pence act of 1533-4 (25 Henry VIII, c. 21), the archbishop was empowered by the Crown to issue such dispensations and licences as had previously been available only from the Pope.⁴⁰ For the proper exercise of this jurisdiction a master of the faculties or licences was first appointed by Cranmer in 1538 although the earliest record of activities under the act begins in 1535. Records were kept separately from those of the other officials from the first, and the first register, 1534-40, contains, in addition to the licences for notaries, pluralities, the illegitimate seeking ordination and for those wishing to marry in prohibited times and places, many 'capacities' for former religious wishing to hold a benefice or lead a secular life. The principal archives of the faculty office consist of the muniment books or registers 1534-40, 1543-49, 1567-93, 1660 onwards and year bundles of fiats or authorisations by the archbishop for the grant of the faculty, filed together with letters, testimonials and other subsidiary papers. There are also certificates of apprenticeship of notaries, chronologically arranged, from 1733, with some registers of applications for notarial licences from 1833, files of letters concerning Lambeth degrees 1884-1905 and registers of noblemen's chaplains who were entitled by an act of 21 Henry VIII, c. 13, ss. 13-21, to hold a living in plurality with their chaplaincy, 1660-1914.⁴¹ The greatest bulk of records is concerned with the grant of marriage licences, which were of two kinds, the 'common' valid throughout England and Wales at canonical places and times and the 'special' licences which permitted marriages to be celebrated at any time and in any place. The records consist principally of allegations 1632-3, 1647-51, 1660 onwards⁴² and of bonds 1698-1823.

³⁹ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv, 1953, 139-53 and *supra*, vol. 1, 1955, 29-31.

⁴⁰ For an account of the jurisdiction see E. Gibson, *Codex Iuris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, London, 2 vols. 1713, 1, 106.

⁴¹ The privilege was abolished by an act of 1 & 2 Vict., c. 106, but sporadic registration continued.

⁴² An index of the allegations 1632-1714 was edited by G. E. Cokayne and E. A. Fry, *Index Library*, vol. 33, 1905.

Personal Records

It seems certain that even in the medieval period the archbishops must always have retained in their own hands correspondence and memoranda which was too informal or too confidential to be kept in the semi-publicity of the registry. Little of this has survived at Lambeth from before the nineteenth century, apart from the haphazard Tenison and Gibson compilations already mentioned, which include papers of Laud, Tillotson and Tenison and the two Oxford collections. A fair proportion of Secker's subject files on such matters as Moravians, Wesleyans, Marriage Acts, Queen Anne's Bounty and Colonial Churches is preserved either among the manuscripts (MSS. 1119-1124 and 1130) or as loose papers. Four bound volumes and a box of Thomas Longley's papers (1862-8) were given to the Library in 1889 by his son. With the beginning of A. C. Tait's archiepiscopate in 1868 regular and systematic filing of the correspondence began and continues. Apart from files on special subjects like the Jerusalem Bishopric the letters are arranged alphabetically in year bundles and registers of correspondents have survived with them. These files were transferred to the Library in 1955 and form a complete series to the end of Lord Lang's archiepiscopate in 1942; the records after 1910 are not available for consultation.

Other Classes of Records

On 13 May 1662 the House of Commons ordered that all the presentations, books of institutions and other records of the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers should be delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury for safe keeping and at the same time there was a similar order for the surveys of the lands of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and deans and chapters made during the Commonwealth (the so-called Parliamentary Surveys).⁴³ The Commissioners' books with some of the presentation deeds and leases and all of the surveys are in the manuscript sequence (MSS. 902-22, 944-50, 968, 983, 996-99). Some of the presentation deeds are among the court rolls and a further large number have been found loose.⁴⁴

On 10 February 1759 Edward Sleech agent to the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches,⁴⁵ by order of his employers, deposited in Lambeth all their records, which consist of minute books, works and contract books, accounts, treasury memorials (for the payment of the grant), vouchers, title deeds and correspondence, with site plans but no architectural drawings for the churches erected.

⁴³ *Commons' Journals*, vol. viii, 428.

⁴⁴ The commissioners' Books are described by W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the Civil War and Commonwealth*, 2 vols., London, 1900, I, 260-78; extracts were printed by E. A. Fry, *Proc. Dorset Field Club*, vol. xxxvi, 1915. Surrey Parliamentary Surveys have been printed in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vols. vii, 1880, and xii, 1895.

⁴⁵ An account of the work of the Commissioners is given by H. M. Colvin, *Architectural Review*, March 1950.

THE ORIGINS OF BOROUGH RECORDS*

BY GEOFFREY H. MARTIN, M.A., D.PHIL., F.R.HIST.S.

"THE TIME is still far off," wrote Mary Bateson in 1904, "when it will be possible to have even a superficial knowledge of the contents of English borough archives,"¹ and it seems hardly closer to-day. Although some fewer borough muniment rooms are "unmapped jungles" now than at the end of the last century there is still a good deal of unexplored material in our town halls, and the work that was then so promisingly begun lies unfinished still. One great difficulty that besets the student of

* Based upon a paper read to the Annual Conference of the Society, at Leicester, 29 April, 1960.

¹ *Borough Customs (Selden Society)*, vol. 18, 1904), I, p. xvii.

English municipal history is physical: there are far too many boroughs and borough records for one man to master them all, and their great variety defies most attempts to classify them. There is nothing in England like the neat hierarchy and common interests of the Scottish burghs, or even like the regional patterns in Wales that lend special characteristics to the smaller towns of the March, or enabled E. A. Lewis to treat the Snowdonian boroughs as a distinct group.² As great collections of records like those of Bristol gradually appear in print, the history of the English borough seems even more formidably unwritten than it did sixty years ago, and our need for some new order to impose upon the material even more acute.

Whilst comprehensive selections from the records of individual towns are daunting, comparative studies of institutions and of some particular classes of records have had a different, but also inhibiting effect. Surveys like Gross's *The Gild Merchant*, Mary Bateson's *Borough Customs* and Ballard's *British Borough Charters*, 1042-1216 have an air of finality about them; they seemed to their authors to clear the way for a general enquiry into municipal history, but they have given later students a comfortable impression that the work has been done and the subject closed. Its excellent hand-list of sources apart, *Borough Customs* was hardly a contribution to municipal history at all. Mary Bateson herself said that "it would little diminish . . . the value [of the customals] if the names of the places to which they belong should happen to be lost";³ her edition advanced the history of law, but it necessarily left many interesting questions about the customals and their place in the boroughs' administration unanswered. It was not her object to extend her enquiry any further, and she put her successors quite deeply enough in her debt by her careful prospecting. What is surprising is that the subject has ever since remained much as she left it, so that the first remains the only survey.

Borough charters have suffered attention and neglect in much the same proportions. Ballard's work was continued by Tait, and then rounded off by Martin Weinbaum in a volume that might suggest to those less learned and cautious than its editor that the charter's force in municipal affairs is spent by the later seventeenth century.⁴ These three volumes were perhaps bound to discourage rather than to inspire further work: they are as nearly exhaustive as such a compilation can be, and they marshal a curiously intractable class of documents. The charters cannot properly be studied singly, but they lose much of their local interest when they are discussed collectively. In England the borough charter seems as much or more a witness to the power of the king as to the variety and richness of local ambitions, and that impression was strongly reinforced by the comparative study that Ballard began.

In 1959 the British Records Association's exhibition of borough charters modified that view in a very striking manner: the arduous business of collecting and displaying the documents was as well rewarded by its results as the most painstaking piece of normal research could have been. Because their contents have been so elaborately studied in the past, British borough charters have been comparatively neglected as documents; and when studied as documents—things that somebody has drafted, written, sealed and been paid for—they can contribute to municipal history in a way quite unsuspected when they are approached through the printed summaries.⁵ This is not a fact that ought to surprise us, but at least it is one appropriately discovered by an Association devoted to the study of records. Any future account of borough charters will have to consider a local initiative in their drafting, and in some instances in their writing and decoration, which has passed unnoticed until now.⁶

These features of the charter can only be elucidated by referring to the boroughs' ordinary administrative records, and such an investigation would raise some other questions. Except where

² E. A. Lewis, *The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia*, 1912.

³ *Borough Customs*, I, p. ix.

⁴ A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British Borough Charters*, 1216-1307, 1923; M. Weinbaum, *British Borough Charters*, 1307-1660, 1943.

⁵ British Records Association, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Borough Charters*, 1959, 23-4, and this *Journal*, ante, p. 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 24. From the seventeenth century at least there ought to be plenty of information about negotiations and payments for charters. The Wiltshire Archaeological Society's 'List of Wiltshire Borough Records' (*Wiltshire Arch. Soc. Records Branch*, V, 1951) alone shows documents at Salisbury and Wilton (pp. 71, 90) relating to charters for those boroughs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including petitions, correspondence and fees. Earlier material is more elusive, but most counties have still to follow Wiltshire's excellent example.

their lords speculatively conferred privileges upon tenants who were not ready to use them, a borough's first charter implied the existence of an organized community, willing to negotiate and able to pay for its new status. So much is self-evident, but our notion of the borough's early community would be considerably changed if we were to find that the burgesses contributed substantially to the wording of their charters. If the charter did not invariably impose upon the borough formulas that the royal lawyers thought appropriate to its needs—if, on the contrary, the burgesses and their clerks were able to present their needs in language that the Chancery recognised and could approve—then the borough's administration and its sources of information would deserve more respectful attention than they have usually received. Town clerks who could draft royal charters were certainly not amateurs, but the best guides to their professional knowledge are their own records. When and how did the boroughs begin to keep the written records that have been for so long the mainstay of their government? Did the royal administration's practices and demands inspire or only encourage local enterprise? Did archival fashions spread from place to place, or did the boroughs respond individually to different influences? What differences did the innovation make? The answers, if they are to be found anywhere, lie as much in the forms as in the content of the records that survive. We ought to examine, that is to say, not only the ways in which different kinds of records—registers of memoranda, court rolls, accounts and the like—developed, but also such matters as the replacement of rolls made up chancery-style (membranes sewn head to tail) by those finished exchequer-style (membranes joined at the head), the use of paper instead of parchment, and the supplanting of rolls by codices. If these subjects could be discussed in general instead of local terms, they could advance the history of the English borough by at least as much as the comparative studies of the contents of custumals and charters that we already have. We might also sketch a more hopeful approach to the embarrassing mass of material that still awaits study.

At present the earliest English borough records, in the sense of original memoranda written in the town as an aid to its administration, seem to be the gild rolls of Leicester and Shrewsbury. Those records begin respectively in 1196 and 1209, and the first roll at Leicester is more than thirty years older than the earliest surviving records (so far as I know) of a municipal court—the little group of thirteenth-century Burghmoot rolls at Wallingford.⁷ The first court roll there dates from 1231–2, and is concerned with municipal business and with what would later be called petty pleas, but there is also a roll of lands bought and sold (called *rotulus de captione terrarum*) from the same year (16 Henry III), and a set of taxation rolls (*rotuli pactionariorum*) beginning in 1227. These specialised records are followed by the rolls of the Hustings Court of London, where deeds were enrolled from 1252, at the latest, and joined by testaments proved from 1258 onward. On the analogy of Wallingford, and of other towns at a slightly later date, these rolls would imply that the Hustings Court's ordinary judicial business was also being enrolled somewhere; but the earliest records of pleas and judgements in the court now begin in 1272 with the Hustings Common Plea rolls, followed by Pleas of Land in 1273 and the oldest rolls of the Mayor's Court in 1298.⁸ Wallingford's oldest records are therefore not only very early, but surprisingly full: the borough's administration was well documented by 1231.

The gap between the earliest rolls at Wallingford and the register of deeds at London is filled by the Anglo-Norman custumal of Exeter, the first part of which was written about 1240,⁹ but there are no court rolls at Exeter until the 1260's. The earliest comprehensive court roll that can be shown to be the parent of later specialised records is that for 1255–6 at Ipswich. The Mayor's Court rolls of Exeter, which have a similar history, begin in 1265. Leicester has only fragments of its Portmanmoot records before the fourteenth century, but the first of them is a list of pleas of about 1260, followed by an estreat roll, headed *Extracta Henrici servientis*, of 1267.¹⁰ Those pieces suggest a complicated system now vanished, and the date of the Wallingford rolls shows that if Leicester maintained its early start it could have had a large store of archives by the 1260's. So could other towns, however, for the value

⁷ See *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 6th Report, Part I* (Wallingford), 572–7.

⁸ *Guide to the Records in the Corporation of London Records Office*, ed. P. E. Jones and R. Smith, 1951, 64.

⁹ *The Anglo-Norman Custumal of Exeter*, ed. J. W. Schopp, 1925, 8–11. The original text of the Northampton custumal seems to have been even older: see below, p. 152 and n. 23.

¹⁰ *The Records of the Corporation of Leicester*, Leicester Museums and Art Gallery, 1956, 51. The estreat roll is described as a Portmanmoot roll—IV.8.2.

of the estreat roll, in particular, was ephemeral, and although early ones are now comparatively rare very large numbers may have been lost.

The court roll was well established in the boroughs by the second half of the thirteenth century as an important, if not their chief, administrative record. It was probably encouraged by the right, whether already enjoyed or only hoped for, of returning royal writs without the sheriff's intromission: a privilege that was conferred on twenty towns between 1252 and 1257, when Henry III needed moral and material support against his barons.¹¹ The progress of pleas begun by writ had to be accurately recorded, and direct dealings with the royal chancery and exchequer may have made town clerks more generally interested in keeping and even experimenting with written records. The Portmanmoot roll at Ipswich begins a year before the borough acquired the return of writs, and Wallingford never enjoyed that privilege, so the record was not a simple and direct result of the royal grant. On the other hand it is possible that the king's lawyers wanted proof of an efficient system of enrolment in the town courts before the grant was made; and while that, like other guesses about this period, is not very likely to be proved or refuted, it is a possibility that we ought to keep in mind when studying what survives. We know, after all, very little about practical affairs in the towns at this time, and even less about their dealings with the government.

Once the town's clerk began to keep a regular court roll, for whatever reason, its potential use was very wide.¹² The principal court of a borough sat frequently, and dealt with administrative as well as judicial business. Its roll often served as a general record, and like the court itself was soon overloaded in the larger towns. Ipswich needed a separate roll for personal actions by 1285, and the creation of another roll, for registering deeds and testaments, can be traced step by step in the surviving records between 1294 and 1300.¹³ Exeter's courts and court rolls developed in much the same way, and there are vestiges of a very elaborate system of records at Norwich.¹⁴ At New Salisbury, where the bishop denied the burgesses courts of their own, the lack of a court roll probably stimulated the burgesses' care for the volumes of memoranda called the Domesday Books, the earliest of which (1357) is called *Liber Tercius*.¹⁵ Elsewhere the court roll, in some form, was at the heart of the archives.

Financial records seem to have developed more haphazardly, perhaps because as long as the borough's *firma* was regularly paid, the internal accounts only attracted public attention at times of popular excitement. The earliest accounts at Ipswich appear in a brief note on the petty plea roll in 1291, and the borough courts' fees were only properly audited after a general reform of the administration, accompanied by riots, in 1320.¹⁶ Chamberlains' accounts of the usual kind do not appear until 1446, and although they probably began some time earlier, the presence of annual accounts of the market leases in the Great Court rolls in the 1340's suggests that even at that date there was still no regular system of accounts. By contrast, Shrewsbury has detailed bailiffs' accounts, covering special charges like murage as well as ordinary tolls and fees, from 1256 onwards.¹⁷ Those rolls, taken with the early records of the gild, make the present lack of other thirteenth-century records in Shrewsbury particularly disappointing. The Shrewsbury court rolls have been inaccurately dated in the past: the earliest ones attributed to Edward I's reign belong to Edward II's, and some of those supposed to be of Edward II's time are of Edward III's.¹⁸ There is therefore a wide gap between the first gild rolls and the developed system of the fourteenth century, filled only by the account rolls. These last suggest that the records grew very rapidly in Henry III's reign, but at the moment do not seem able to show us how. One interesting detail is that while the account rolls and the first court rolls are sewn head to tail, a cumbersome arrangement that was usually discarded when records began to accumulate, old stitch holes on some membranes of the first gild roll suggest that it was once sewn

¹¹ Ballard and Tait, *op. cit.*, pp. lxi-lxiv; and H. M. Cam, in *Archives*, iv, 1960, 238-9.

¹² The customs of Godmanchester, e.g., were formally entered upon the court roll in 1324; *Borough Customs*, I, p. xxix.

¹³ G. H. Martin, *The Borough and the Merchant Community of Ipswich, 1317-1422* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Bodleian Library), 38-40.

¹⁴ G. H. Martin, *The Early Court Rolls of the Borough of Ipswich, 1954*, 21n., 33-34.

¹⁵ *Wiltshire Borough Records*, 63, 80.

¹⁶ Martin, *Borough and Merchant Community of Ipswich*, 37, 58, 73.

¹⁷ *Calendar of the Shrewsbury Borough Records*, 1896.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38. No. 758, '1-2 Edward I' is really 1-2 Edward II, 1307-1308; nos. 760-762, '6, 8 Edward I' are 6 and Edward II, 1312-1315.

at the head before being made, as it is now, a chancery-style roll. If some later repairer has not upset the order of the records, Shrewsbury rejected its efficient start.

Leicester's first gild roll is thirteen years older than Shrewsbury's.¹⁹ It consists of eleven membranes sewn chancery-style, with entries in several hands running from October 1196 to February 1233, and it records admissions to the gild, at first roughly at yearly intervals. There are also notes, some of them often-amended, on pledges and payments. The dorse bears some notes about the gild's ordinary sessions: lists of defaulters at *morwenspeche* and their debts; a payment for the gild bell, and the names of the bell's keepers; an accusation of slander by a gildsman. There is also a note (c. 1215) of five fairs—St. Ives, St. Botolph's, Lynn, Winchester and Stourbridge²⁰—which *habent excusacionem* at the Portmanmoot; that is, presumably, are accepted as reasonable excuses for absence from the court. The roll does not deal exhaustively with the gild's own affairs, and the presence of this memorandum suggests that it was regarded as a suitable place for any note of public importance. In the absence of other evidence, we may think that the Portmanmoot had no permanent record of its own at this early date, although Wallingford's Burghmoot had one within the next two decades.

There are also some signs on the roll that the gild itself had not very long enjoyed a register. The first membrane is ruled with horizontal lines and vertical columns for the gildsmen's names, payments and pledges. The lines are lightly scored, with some traces of inking, but there is no sign of pricking although the grid is quite regular; this refinement is not repeated on the following membranes, which are more casually written and arranged. The first three sessions begin on separate membranes. One session or even more may have been lost, for the record jumps from October 1196 to February 1198 between m. 1 and m. 2, and from 1199 to 1205 between the head of m. 3 and m. 5. It is not until m. 5 [October 1205 or 1206] that a new batch of admissions begins in the middle of a membrane, but from that point the entries run on, several sessions appearing on the same membrane. It looks as though the separate sheets, which may well have begun to accumulate before 1196, had by this point become a roll in the sense that the clerk now meant to stitch them together sooner or later, even if they were not already stitched when he wrote on them. The heading on m. 1 begins simply: "Isti intraverunt in Gildam Merchatoriam die festi beati Dionisij primo post adventum comitis in Angliam & post deliberacionem suam de captione sua in Francia [&c.]." It is done without any flourish, and the entries run straight on, but the whole membrane is neater than the rest, and that not only because it is ruled. Compared with the rest of the roll, and with the second gild roll [1234–1274], its neatness suggests excellent resolutions eroded by routine. At the same time the regulations governing admissions to the gild, so far as they can be deduced from the rolls, settle down to just the kind of uniformity that regular enrolment is likely to encourage.²¹

The other most interesting feature of this record, apart from palaeographical matters like the use of the unarticulated sign 's' for *us*, is the dating. Although regnal years appear occasionally, first in the form "anno primo post coronacionem domini regis Johannis", and later as "anno regni . . . x", most of the dates in the first roll have some local interest. Earl Robert Fitz-Parnell's release in 1196 is quoted above. Other admissions are dated by the death of Abbot Paul of Leicester (unfortunately in an uncertain year, 1204 or 1205), Saher de Quincey's tenure of Leicester, and Simon, Count of Rochefort's seisin and disseisin there by the king. 1220 is called the year when the Christians took Damiatta: an action in which Saher de Quincey was killed. These jottings, and the notice of events like the dedication of St. Nicholas's church in Leicester, tell us what mattered in a substantial seigneurial borough and *caput honoris*, where the townsmen saw more of the earl's ministers than of the king's. They stand in sharp contrast to the later practice both in Leicester and in other boroughs, when the usages of the royal government's clerks were better known.

The Leicester gild rolls, like the whole complex of early records at Wallingford, deserve a more thorough diplomatic analysis than they can have here. They ought in particular to be compared with the earliest material from other boroughs, especially with the Shrewsbury rolls, and with the gild rolls

¹⁹ *Records of the Corporation of Leicester*, 56; Mary Bateson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, I (1899), 12–3.

²⁰ *Stevhe*; Mary Bateson, *ibid.*, 33, suggested Stevenage or Stepney, but the old name for Stourbridge Common was *Estenhale: Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (E.P.N.S. XIX) 1943, 43–44.

²¹ Mary Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, pp. xxviii–xxix.

of Ipswich which survive only in copies but began in 1200.²² The only other record that seems at present to date from the twelfth century is the first text of the Northampton custumal. That may have been drafted even before 1190, but it is now represented only by a copy of a copy.²³ What the English borough's administrative records really need is an exhibition that would bring them together, as the British Records Association's exhibition brought the charters together. Like that very successful experiment such an exhibition would be very troublesome to arrange, but it would do good service to scholarship, even if it could not stimulate its exhausted organizers to arrange others after it. It might also sustain and strengthen the interest that the exhibition of Borough Charters aroused in the towns that were asked for material—an interest that was the most encouraging of all its results.

The problem of the origins of borough records is both general and local. The records of almost every ancient borough can tell us something about the beginnings of borough records in general, but local accidents of survival and use suggest some other questions. What has been lost; and when and how? Who saved what we have? Guildford had many of its charters and other records—the townsmen said all—destroyed in 1381, and since then it has lost more, including another five of its charters. Its earliest administrative records now surviving are sixteenth-century court books, but they include a mutilated fair-copy book, probably begun before 1500, that contains accounts of the chief proceedings in the courts, extracted from the rough minutes in the court-books.²⁴ By the end of the century George Austen, mayor of Guildford in 1588 and 1600, was making extracts from the medieval Black Book, now lost, so that "some shadowe or resemblance of that old Booke may remayne for them which shall succede". These two collections, the one formal and practical, the other at least in part sentimental and antiquarian, exemplify not only the chief ways in which the substance of some lost records have been preserved for us, but also some of the problems that a rapidly-growing system of archives presented to its keepers and users. Administrative and historical interests are intermingled in Austen's book, and in the work of men like John Hooker of Exeter and the younger Henry Manship of Great Yarmouth, but even if early historical treatises and borough custumals were excluded, manuscript catalogues of borough records earlier than the nineteenth century would make an interesting study. Ipswich has an inventory of the court rolls made in the 1330's, and a careful survey of the muniments drawn up by the clavigers in 1696; Colchester's Oath Book contains an index and catalogue of the court rolls, begun in the late fourteenth century, that stretches from 1327 to 1564.²⁵ Those three documents from two neighbouring towns could be supplemented by quite a long list of town cartularies, inventories passed on to newly-elected officials, and the like.²⁶

Abstracts and catalogues were particularly useful where the bulk of the archives consisted of court rolls, and most boroughs had large collections of rolls by the sixteenth century. The roll was not very easy to store, and manifestly awkward to consult, but some strong conservatism kept it in use even when the codex was well established beside it. Although Exeter's custumal roll is a rare survival among the codices that other towns favoured for their custumals and registers, from the fourteenth century onward, the roll had a powerful authority. It could retain some classes of business, as it did at Ipswich and in the Hustings Court of London in the sixteenth century, when recognisances of deeds and testaments were still enrolled on parchment while lighter matter went into paper books, and it could also be revived for solemn effect. Marlborough, apparently under the stimulus of its charter of incorporation in 1576, began a roll of decrees and ordinances in that year which remained in use for more than a century.²⁷

Kendal offers another striking example of the roll's dignity and fascination. During the Middle Ages Kendal was a manorial borough with a chartered market; it thrived on the cloth trade, and

²² This *Journal*, vol. I, 89.

²³ Mary Bateson, *Borough Customs*, I, pp. xli–xlii. The Preston custumal may also contain some twelfth-century material; *ibid.* p. xlvii, and *English Historical Review*, xv, 1900, 496.

²⁴ *Guildford Borough Records*, ed. E. M. Dance, Surrey Record Society, XXIV, 1958, pp. xvi–xix.

²⁵ Martin, *Early Court Rolls of Ipswich*, 29–31, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9th Report, part I, App.* (Ipswich), 239; *Oath Book of Colchester*, ed. W. G. Benham, 1907, 45–183.

²⁶ E.g. Hooker's list at Exeter, *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Exeter), 1916, pp. xiv–xvi; list of documents relating to Dunwich haven, B.M. Add. MS. 34, 653; 'Notte of charters and other writings' in the Black Book of Southampton, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 11th Report, Appendix part 3 (Southampton), 14.

²⁷ *Wiltshire Borough Records*, 41.

perhaps on Appleby's decline, and in 1575 it was incorporated. The expenses of incorporation were met by a house-by-house levy, the details of which are recorded in the new borough's first formal document—after its charter—the Book of Record.²⁸ The book was then maintained as a register of office-holders and their oaths, by-laws and craft-gild ordinances, but the borough's Court of Record was given a roll, after the most approved fashion. Eighteen rolls now survive for the years between 1590 and 1602.²⁹ With one exception, that for Michaelmas 1598 to Michaelmas 1599, they run two to a year, the first roll from the aldermanic election at Michaelmas to Easter, the second from Easter to Michaelmas. They are made each of some twenty to thirty sheets of thick paper (approximately 24" × 18") fastened at the head. The first sheet always carries a long title, explaining that the Court of Record is held "secundum libertates et privilegia Aldermanico et Burgensibus ejusdem Burgi per predictam dominam Reginam concessas", a formula that had evidently lost none of its charm since 1576, when, as the numbering of the surviving rolls shows, the series began. The burgesses' pride in their charter and independence could hardly be more precisely stated. A fresh side of a sheet was begun for each court, but where possible cases that were adjourned were completed under the original entry. As the ink has soaked through the paper the record is not readily legible, but it is carefully written and well provided with marginal annotations. A book would have been a more convenient record, but it would not have matched the court's dignity; books sufficed for the chamberlain's accounts, but not for the Court of Record. The roll even survived into the Protectorate, and it was then made of parchment: court books do not appear in Kendal until the later seventeenth century.

The inauguration of its records has always been an important event in a town's history, whether it be done self-consciously, as at Kendal, or half-accidentally, as we may suppose to have happened in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries elsewhere. By the sixteenth century there was no need to look far for a pattern, but the patterns that were chosen on any occasion will always be worth studying. Unless some discoveries change the present picture, the court must take second place to the gild merchant as the source of medieval borough records: it looks as though the court's official memory still reposed in the head of its *probi homines* when the gild began to commit its list of names, fines, bulls and vats of ale to parchment. The customal's influence is still uncertain, but there are not many texts earlier than Exeter's, and a solemn list of usages, even if it attracted other constitutional jottings, did not have the same potentialities as a record of regularly-transacted business. By the end of Henry III's reign there were precedents enough, even among the original documents that survive to-day, to equip an elaborate municipal administration: the way in which their example worked remains to be studied. It would be sanguine to suppose that the subject will advance much faster than has the study of borough charters since Ballard's day, but since the exhibition of 1959 even the charters have worn a more hopeful air. Perhaps rolls and codices will yet win public attention and favour at some exhibition of their own.

²⁸ *A Boke off Records . . . of Kirkbiekendall*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, 1892, 1-17.

²⁹ These rolls are not described in *Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Report App. 4* (Kendal); I have listed and labelled them since 1956, when I was first allowed to examine the borough records by courtesy of Mr. H. W. Jones, then town clerk of Kendal.

ARCHIVES OF THE ENGLISH TOURNAMENT: SCORE CHEQUES AND LISTS

BY SYDNEY ANGLO, B.A., PH.D.

FROM THE thirteenth to the sixteenth century, in England as on the Continent, armed combats between knights flourished as military exercise, sport and spectacle. As the Tournament became increasingly formalised so the records, relating to specific combats, multiplied and still survive as the documentary residuum of some four centuries of muscular activity. The history of the English Tournament during

the thirteenth century must be gleaned from the sparse and ambiguous pages of the chroniclers since, from the documentary point of view, the most important source is paradoxically comprised of the numerous prohibitions by which the King attempted to mitigate the dangers of armed sedition.¹ The fortunes of chivalric enterprise fluctuated until the accession of Edward III whose reign witnessed an efflorescence of spectacular Tournaments which was never again rivalled—even by that redoubtable tilt-yard warrior, Henry VIII. Wardrobe Accounts are the principal source for Edward's court spectacle and, apart from chronicles, there are few surviving literary sources. For the historian a change comes in the fifteenth century when financial records are often supplemented, first by copies of the letters of challenge issued by knights, and then, a little later, by detailed heraldic narratives.² Finally, in the sixteenth century, a new source, the original scoring cheques of the participating knights, is available to complete the documentation of several major Tournaments, offering a purely technical record of the personnel involved and of the chronic ineptitude with which they fought their knightly feats of arms. These score cheques are preserved, as an integral collection, at the College of Arms and form the subject of the present article for, although chronologically the latest documentary evidence relating to the English Tournament and of strictly limited value as an historical source, they pose problems of interpretation which have not, hitherto, been adequately treated.³ Moreover, they merit a special consideration from the archivist as being the only class of record specifically created by the Tournament in England.

Tournament Score Cheques and Lists

The collection of score cheques at the College of Arms, as can be seen from the calendar appended to this article, covers the sixteenth century, although far the greater number of documents relate to Tournaments at the court of Elizabeth I. The cheques for the Westminster Tournament of February 1511 are the earliest original examples of this class still surviving, but copies of four cheques, recording tilting and running at large, for the marriage festivals of Prince Arthur in November 1501, are preserved as an insertion in College of Arms MS. M.3—which suggests that such a method of scoring may well have been employed in the fifteenth century.⁴ This curious documentary corpus is of importance not only because the score cheque is a record unique to the Tournament, but also because it seems that such records are peculiar to England and have not been discovered in continental repositories.

By the late fifteenth century the Tournament in England had resolved itself into four main types of combat: running at the tilt; running at large without the tilt; the tourney on horseback, fought with swords; and barrier or foot combats, fought with sword or short spear. It had been customary, from the earliest days of the organised Tournament, to award prizes to those knights who had best acquitted themselves in these various exercises of which the joust or, more specifically from the mid-

¹ Denholm Young, "The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century", *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), p. 263, points out the paradox whereby it is not possible to describe the efflorescence of the Tournament between 1267 and 1270 through lack of contemporary evidence, while Tournaments again come to light in the period 1270 to 1274, when they were forbidden.

² I deal with these non-technical documentary sources in an article, "Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament", to be published in the next issue of this *Journal*.

³ Charles Ffoulkes, "Jousting Cheques of the Sixteenth Century", *Archaeologia*, LXIII (1911-2), is usually cited as an authoritative statement on this matter but is, nevertheless, very inaccurate and, concerning the actual interpretation of the scores, categorically wrong. Furthermore, apart from one passing reference to the cheques for Prince Arthur's marriage Tournament in 1501, Ffoulkes seems not to have had access to the College of Arms collection but was entirely dependent upon the handful of copy cheques preserved in other repositories. R. C. Strong, "Elizabethan Jousting Cheques in the Possession of the College of Arms", *The Coat of Arms*, V (1958), has a survey of the Elizabethan cheques which I have followed in dating two groups of cheques (Appendix I, 6, 7), but ignores the problems posed by the scoring methods employed.

I wish to thank R. F. Graham-Vivian, Esq., M.C., Windsor Herald, for the facilities liberally accorded to me in studying the collection of Cheques preserved at the College of Arms.

⁴ College of Arms MS. M.3, known as *Ballard's Book*, is a miscellaneous heraldic collection largely written and painted by, or on behalf of, William Ballard, March King of Arms under Edward IV, as record both of armorials and of the major ceremonials in which he took part. Ballard was dead by 1490 when the volume was purchased by John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, who was probably still the owner at the time of Prince Arthur's marriage. The copies of the cheques for 1501 are at f. 25b where they are included in a copy of the elaborate challenge for the same Tournament (f. 24b-26a). *Ballard's Book* is fully described in the *Catalogue of the Herald's Commemorative Exhibition, 1484-1934* (London, 1936), where it is Item No. 67.

fifteenth century, the tilt had become the most important.⁵ The rules by which a knight's performance was to be assessed had been formulated in 1466 by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and an analysis of extant Tournament challenges setting forth the articles under which the combats were to be fought shows that the main features of Tiptoft's ordinances were adopted—or perhaps suggests that Tiptoft's ordinances merely summarised common practice.⁶ Worcester's rules are repetitive, ambiguous and patently do not provide for all the contingencies that may have arisen in actual combat, but they make it clear that the usual way to assess a knight's performance was to count the number of lances or spears he managed to shatter on his opponent. Spears broken upon the helm counted for more than those broken upon the body which was, obviously, an easier target; while the attainat—a blow which, though striking a legitimate target, did not shatter the lance—was also to be taken into account.

It was the business of the attendant heralds to record the scores of the contestants, and they performed this task according to conventions for which the only modern parallel would seem to be the scoring method in cricket. The scorer would note the knight's performance in diagrammatic form, sometimes on a sheet already ruled up with the names of the combatants carefully lettered in, sometimes on odd scraps of paper with the diagrams sketched in free-hand and with the names hastily scribbled at the appropriate places. Generally, more than one herald must have been entrusted with the task of keeping score—probably one would watch the Challenger and another the Answerer—hence the frequent occasions when several cheques survive for the same tilt, and the sometimes divergent results entered therein.

I have reconstructed the method employed by the heralds to score for a contest at the tilt and indicate this in *Figure 1* which includes those marks most frequently encountered in the surviving cheques. Usually a cheque consists of a series of parallelograms drawn in pairs—one for each of the Challengers, invariably on the left, and one for each of their opponents, the Answerers. The top line of the parallelogram represents the head of a knight's adversary and the middle line his body; while the bottom line serves to record faults and the resultant penalties—a very rare mark in the collection.⁷ The courses run by each knight were noted by strokes cutting the projection of the middle line, outside the parallelogram. Apart from these courses, a stroke transecting a line indicates a lance broken, and a stroke above the line represents an attainat. The sign representing a lance broken coronal to coronal occurs in several cheques but it is unequivocally interpreted only for the cheque of April 21st 1560 where, in the proclamation of prizes (Appendix, I, 6.h), it is written that Sir George Howard and Lord Mountjoy both broke their spears "coronall to coronall". This feat rated high in Tiptoft's ordinances though, as Dillon pointed out, it would clearly count as much for one knight as for his opponent.⁸

This interpretation of the scoring method for tilting is my own reconstruction and it is here necessary to review the evidence for my account which, most inconveniently, conflicts with what

⁵ The origins of the tilt, that is the wooden barrier which separated the jousting knights one from another, are still uncertain. The question is briefly, and indecisively, discussed by Viscount Dillon, "Tilting in Tudor Times", *Archaeological Journal*, LV (1898). That its use had become popular by the middle of the fifteenth century is suggested by the illustrations of Sir John Astley running at the tilt, against Pierre de Maisse in 1438 and against an unknown opponent, in the near contemporary *Hastings MS*. See these illustrations reproduced in Viscount Dillon, "On a Manuscript Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the Fifteenth Century belonging to Lord Hastings", *Archaeologia*, LVII (1900), Plates IV and V. Clearly, the introduction of this safety device, by limiting and formalising the combats, would have made it easy for the heralds to note the scores of individual knights.

⁶ Worcester's ordinances were copied into numerous MS. collections of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century as, for example, Harleian MS. 69, f. 19; Harleian 1354, f. 13; Harleian 1776, f. 45; Harleian 6064, f. 86; Additional MS. 33735, f. 2b; Stowe MS. 1407, f. 209; Ashmolean MS. 763, f. 148; Ashmolean 1116, f. 108b; Rawlinson MS. B.146, f. 85; Rawlinson B.102, f. 20; College of Arms MS. M.6, f. 56, etc. It is important to note that Tiptoft's ordinances deal only with the tilt although some later MSS. add material relating to tourney and barriers—manifestly anachronistic since mention is made therein of the close gauntlet as a forbidden item of armour. The close, or locking, gauntlet seems to have been an early sixteenth century development and was, in any case, considered a legitimate piece of armour for Tournaments in Henry VIII's reign. F. H. Cripps-Day, *History of the Tournament in England and in France* (London, 1918), Appendix IV, and Sir J. Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae* (London, 1804), pp. 1–6, print such spurious versions of Tiptoft.

⁷ It occurs, for example, twice in the cheque for Feb. 13th 1511, but is not found in the other Henrician cheques at the College. The principal faults, as given by Tiptoft or in the numerous articles of challenge based upon these ordinances, were to strike the tilt or to hit an adversary beneath the waist or on his saddle.

⁸ Dillon, "Tilting in Tudor Times", p. 299.

seems, at first sight, perfectly sound contemporary evidence. There exist several versions, all late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century copies, of a sample score cheque for the tilt, which gives various complicated signs for the feats most usually accomplished by a knight running his courses (*Figure 2*).⁹ But there are discrepancies in this scheme which make it unacceptable as valid evidence for the interpretation of the existing cheques. First, there are two contradictory signs given for a staff broken on the head—a stroke transecting the top line and a cross transecting the middle line. Secondly, there is nowhere on this exemplar the sign which occurs very frequently on Henrician and early Elizabethan cheques—the stroke touching the middle line. Thirdly and most conclusively, scarcely any of the documents listed below in the Appendix employ signs with crosses at all similar to those in the exemplar.¹⁰ It is difficult to suggest any reason, apart from crass incompetence, why this scheme should be so confused and unrealistic but, since it has no relationship whatever to the existing cheques, it must be rejected out of hand.

Slightly more difficult to discount is the evidence of a cheque for May 1571 (Appendix, I, 10.b). In the margin of this document are notes, in a contemporary hand, giving the scoring method for barriers, tourney and tilt. With regard to the tilt it suggests that attaints are to be marked on the top line, staves broken on the middle line, and staves ill-broken or otherwise disallowed on the bottom line.¹¹ Thus, using these manuscript notes as the basis for a scoring method, it is possible to work out an apparently consistent scheme (*Figure 3*). However, a difficulty in this interpretation arises when one considers the frequency with which the various signs occur in the tilting cheques.¹² In the Henrician and early Elizabethan cheques tilting is revealed as having been more than the ceremonial breaking of fragile lances into which it ultimately degenerated, and all the signs indicated in *Figure 1* are encountered. Invariably, for each tournament, the number of strokes transecting the middle line exceeds the total of all other signs—some 493 such strokes occurring in a total of 710 courses recorded in the surviving Henrician cheques (Appendix, I, 1 and note). There is no such regularity about the other signs although that transecting the top line is the most infrequent and occurs only 17 times in the same group of documents. If one considers the probable frequency of scoring strokes it must immediately be clear that the most common blow would have been the breaking of a lance on an opponent's body—first, because the body presented the largest target area, and secondly because, as Dillon convincingly argued, the angle of incidence between lance and opponent was such that any cleanly connecting blow should have snapped the staff easily.¹³ The frequency with which the stroke transecting the middle line occurs throughout the Henrician period and, indeed, throughout the Elizabethan period (when few other signs occur) admits of scant doubt that this symbol is to be so interpreted. On the other hand, from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, authorities stressed that a blow delivered to an opponent's head was of greater significance than one delivered to his body.¹⁴ This tends to support my view that the very rare sign transecting the top line represents a lance broken on the helm, with the other more evenly recurring signs above the top and middle lines representing attaints to the head and body¹⁵ respectively. This interpretation receives documentary

⁹ See Ffoulkes, *op. cit.*, Plate IV, reproducing Harleian MS. 2413, f. 16, Ashmolean MS. 763, f. 149, and another sample cheque from a private collection.

¹⁰ The sign of a cross transecting the middle line occurs once in the cheque for November 11th 1565 (Appendix, I, 9.a and b). It also occurs in the mysterious cheque for 1554/5 (see text below, p. 000).

¹¹ This 1571 cheque is not, itself, for a tilt but records a contest at the barriers—although this should not have affected the authenticity of its information.

¹² For this argument I have not taken into account the later Elizabethan cheques since, in the main, they consist only of strokes transecting the middle line—indicating staves broken on the body.

¹³ Dillon, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–3, calculates that the angle of incidence must have been about 30 degrees.

¹⁴ Tiptoft allows a staff broken on the head as equal to two broken on the body, an allowance repeated, for example, in the articles for Henry VII's coronation Tournament, where it is written that "every spere that is broken at the helme shall be accounted for ij" (Egerton MS. 985, f. 47b); and again in the articles for the Westminster Tournament of February 1511 which notes that he "who breketh his spere above the charnell to be allowed ij speres well broken, after the olde custome of Armes (B.M., Harleian Cartae Antiquae, 83.H.I.). Cf. William Segar, *Honor, Military and Civil* (London 1602), p. 187, where he writes that he who "directeth his Launce at the head, is more to be praised, then he that toucheth lower. For the higher the Launce hitteth, the greater is the Runners commendation".

¹⁵ Otherwise, given that the sign transecting the middle line must represent a lance broken on the body, we would have to interpret the similar stroke on the top line as an attaint on the body—which could surely not have been the rarest scoring stroke.

corroboration from the records for the tilts of November 5th 1559 and April 21st 1560 (Appendix, I, 5, 6). In the summary of the scores for November 1559 it is written that "The Lorde Robert brake xvj staves and gave ij attainttes wherof one of the attaintes was on the vissard which is allowed for a staff broken". Similarly, it is written that Hunsdon "brake xiiij staves whereof one was on the vissarde wiche is allowid for ij staves Broken and he gave one attaint". On the cheques these attaints and lances broken are indicated by signs of the same form as in my reconstruction (Figure 1). Similarly, for April 21st 1560, the summary of the performances declares that Sir George Howard, in his first course against Lord Mountjoy, "brake ij staves whereof thone was coronall to coronall and gave one atteynt": and again these scores are recorded in the cheque in a form which exactly corroborates my interpretation (Figure 4).

By the latter half of Elizabeth's reign the tilt had degenerated as a military exercise. The emphasis of the spectacle had shifted to pageantry and its literary superstructure and, from the cheques, it can be seen that it became a matter of routine to break increasingly fragile lances upon the opponent's body—now the only target consistently aimed for. With this limited variety of strokes to record it became possible to employ, instead of pen marks, a pin prick to indicate the courses run, the staves broken, or both. In the cheques for November 17th 1588 and 1589 (Appendix, I, 14, 15), the courses are pricked on the line outside the parallelogram, with the lances broken pricked above the top line. In the cheque for November 19th 1594 (Appendix, I, 19), the staves broken are shown by pricks above the middle line within the parallelogram. Sometimes one cheque could be made to serve for two separate tiltings as for November 17th and 19th 1590 (Appendix, I, 16), when the scores for the first day are shown by signs above the top line of the parallelogram, and the scores for the second day are pricked over the name of the knight concerned. This method is explained in a note at the foot of the sheet, which suggests, very strongly, that there was by this time no variety of scoring strokes to be taken into consideration:

Note that on thursday the xixth of november the yere above sayd, the erle of Comberland, the erle of essex, and the lord Strange dyd challenge all the other that Rane the twesdaye byfore and the staves that then was broken is pricked and the staves that was broken on Twesdaye byfore is marked with a pen on the uppermost lyne.

Tourneying on horseback with swords was another very popular combat, but the College of Arms collection contains only one cheque for this sport and again the scoring method employed therein is totally at variance with the method outlined in the misleading barriers cheque of 1571. The marginal annotations in that mischievous document explain that, for the tourney, swords broken at the "passage" and at the "joining" are to be recorded respectively by strokes transecting the top and bottom lines of the parallelogram—no middle line being drawn for this contest (Figure 5). Exactly what the "passage" and the "joining" are supposed to mean is not clear—nor does it much matter since this postulated scoring method bears no relationship to that employed in the only surviving tourney cheque, for January 1559 (Appendix, I, 4.b). For here, though no middle line is drawn, strokes are recorded by crosses in the centre of the parallelogram, and the letter *g* is employed to indicate a disarming of the gauntlet. Thus, in the proclamation of the performances it is written that Sir George Howard, in his second combat, "disarmyed the deffendantt of his gauntlett and hitt him twys on the face of the helme with the pomell of his Sworde". In the cheque these blows are all recorded on the top line—that disarming the gauntlet by a cross accompanied by the letter *g*, and those hitting the helm by strokes touching the top line (Figure 6). The Duke of Norfolk in his fourth combat is said, in the proclamation, to have done "very well and Brake his sworde upon the face of the deffendantt"—deeds recorded by a cross touching the top line and two crosses in the middle of the parallelogram (Figure 7). Sir William Stanley, one of the Answerers, in his combat against the Duke of Norfolk, "did very well and Brake his Sworde", presumably on the body—a blow indicated in the cheque by a cross with a loop touching the top line (Figure 8). The bottom line in this cheque, also contrary to the advice of the 1571 annotations, is never used except to record the loss of a gauntlet or some similar demerit—a usage parallel to that in the tilting cheques where the bottom line records faults and disallowances.¹⁶ The whole business appears to have been very unsystematic especially

¹⁶ For example, in the combat between Neville and Charles Howard, the former disarmed the latter of his gauntlet—a feat represented in Neville's cheque by a cross and letter *g* over the top line, and on Howard's cheque by a cross and *g* over the bottom line.

since, in the proclamation, everybody "did well" or "did very well"—even those who, like Sir Roger North against George Howard, scored nothing and lost a gauntlet to boot! There was, apparently, an ancient chivalric convention which forbade the heralds, in their proclamation, from informing the assembled ladies just how miserably their knights had performed.¹⁷ In general it would seem that, for this tourney cheque, most scoring blows were recorded on the top line: a disarming of the gauntlet, by a cross with the letter *g*; a sword broken on the helm, by a cross; a blow on the helm, not breaking the sword, by a stroke touching the line; a sword broken on the body, by a cross with a loop—which would leave the crosses noted in the middle of the parallelogram perhaps as indications of mere blows delivered to the body.

Three other problems of interpretation remain to be mentioned. The first, scoring for the barriers, is of scant interest and evidence is, in any case, forthcoming only from the untrustworthy 1571 cheque. This indicates that the usual parallelogram was employed, with swords broken, pikes broken, and faults, being recorded on the top, middle, and bottom lines respectively; while, on the projection of the middle line, where courses are marked for the tilt, a stroke indicated that the knight concerned had delivered himself of his quota of blows.¹⁸ The second problem was raised by Ffoulkes—without any explanation being offered—and concerns the division, occasionally encountered, of the parallelogram into two sections by a vertical or oblique stroke. It is impossible to explain this with any confidence, in view of the comparative inexactitude of all narrative descriptions of the scoring strokes. However, in some cases, as with William of Devonshire and Sir Edward Neville against Christopher Willoughby on February 12th 1511, and with Essex and Carew against Sir William Sydney on May 19th 1516, the division simply represents the fact that a group of courses against one of the Answerers was shared by two Challengers. On the other hand others of the divided parallelograms in the cheque for May 19th 1516 and in that for the following day (Appendix, I, c and note) are not so readily explained. It is possible that the dividing line separates the scores made by a knight in the courses run in fulfilment of the articles of challenge from those made in the extra courses of honour run for "the ladies' sake"—although I offer this merely as a tentative suggestion. The third problem is, to my chagrin, posed by a score cheque which I have not been able to interpret at all. It is for a tournament which, since it includes the names of King Philip of Spain and several knights of his retinue, must have taken place in 1554/5 when there was a series of combats in which the Spanish knights participated.¹⁹ But the nature of the contest recorded in this cheque remains a mystery. Four strokes signifying either courses run or blows delivered are marked outside each parallelogram; while no less than eleven signs are employed in the cheque to record the various scoring strokes achieved by the contestants (*Figure 9*).

To conclude on a less indecisive and defeatist note, I would like to call attention to a valuable tournament manuscript which has not, to my knowledge, hitherto been noticed. This volume, College of Arms MS. M.4, consists for the most part of copy lists for the Elizabethan Accession Day Tilts from 1583 to 1600 and for several other major tournaments of Elizabeth's reign. In addition, mounted between the first few leaves of the book, are seven original lists and tilting cheques, including one for Accession Day 1581—perhaps the earliest surviving original record created by an Accession Day Tilt. Most of these lists are set out in the form of unscored cheques, the pages being ruled up and carefully lettered with the names of the participating knights. Interesting notes are appended to many of the documents giving details of the judges appointed for the field, the fees paid to heralds by knights making their first appearance in a tilt, and sometimes of the award of prizes after the contests. Some of

¹⁷ Originally the formula had been evolved for the presentation of prizes to the three best knights and is set out in the mid-fifteenth century *Hastings MS.* and the slightly later *Lansdowne MS.* 285—"the heraude of armys stonde vp all an high. And shall sey wyth all an high voice. John hath wele justid, Richard hath justid bettir and Thomas hath justid best of all" (*Cripps-Day, op. cit.*, p. xxxv). From this it was but a step to sparing the feelings even of the most incompetent warrior by announcing that he had done "well"—though this, in fact, indicated that he had done rather badly.

¹⁸ The stroke at the end of the parallelogram signifies that the knights "haue done"—that is "have done"—not "came down", a misreading in Strong, *op. cit.*, which leads to the curious interpretation that the knights were thus shown to have been thrown to the ground.

¹⁹ See the *Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Soc., 1848), pp. 79–80, 82–83. The challenge for the barriers and foot combats in December 1554 is an especially popular item in heraldic MS. collections, as is the proclamation of the award of prizes for an undated series of feats of arms involving the Spanish King and his knights: Harleian MS. 69, f. 22b–23b; Additional MS. 33735, f. 6b–8; College of Arms MS. M.6, f. 59b–60b; see also Appendix, I, 3. Cf. Segar, *op. cit.*, pp. 192–4.

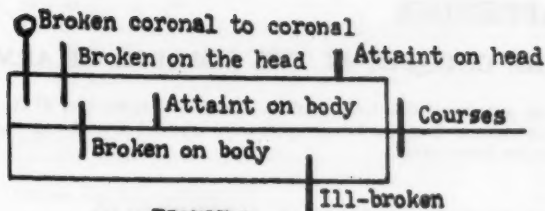


FIGURE 1

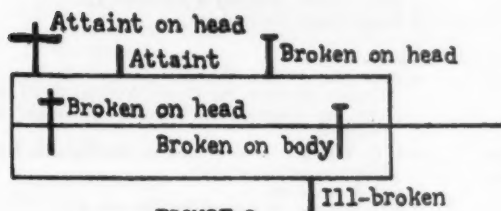


FIGURE 2

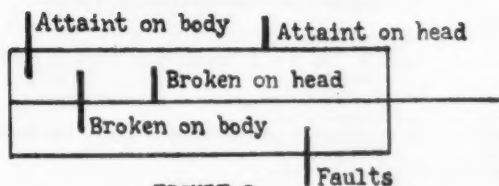


FIGURE 3

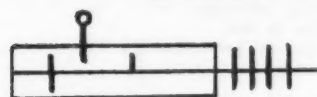


FIGURE 4

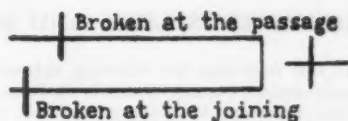


FIGURE 5

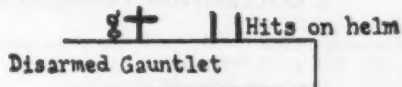


FIGURE 6

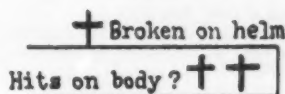


FIGURE 7

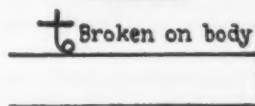


FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9

the lists are accompanied by copies of the heraldic proclamations of challenge and other subsidiary materials relating to the postponement of combats due to inclement weather and other fell causes.²⁰ I have included as the second part of the Appendix a brief calendar of this volume which will serve to indicate the value of the material it contains. MS. M.4 affords a record of the date, location and personnel for most major feats of arms in the latter part of the sixteenth century and it may be regarded not only as a key to the Elizabethan Tournament, but also as one of the last significant manuscripts, in date of compilation, relating to the history of the Tournament in England.

²⁰ For example, at f. 54b: "A Proclaymacion pronounced by Clarenceux Camden, on horse back at the upper end of the Tylte-yard at White hall" concerning the Accession Day Tilt for 1599. The proclamation was to this effect: "Wheras this day hath usually byn held with solemne and Royall Justes for the honor of her Maiesties Reigne: It is nowe her Maiesties will and pleasure (by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather) to deffer the saide Justes untill to morowe in the afternoone. And therefore all that are hear nowe present may depart untill then. God save the Queen". However, the next day was also bad so that Clarenceux had to make a similar proclamation deferring the jousts till Monday. "The Earle of Comberland upon the sayd Monday in his speche delivered to her Maiestie, made a challenge agaynst all commers

APPENDIX

TOURNAMENTS LISTS AND SCORE CHEQUES AT THE COLLEGE OF ARMS

In this Appendix the following abbreviations are employed. S.C. signifies a scored cheque, and U.C. an unscored cheque. Figures written in the form 4 v. 12 indicate that four Challengers were opposed to twelve Answerers. Chal. represents Challengers, and Ans. stands for Answerers.

I. COLLECTION FORMERLY IN BOX 37: NOW IN A PORTFOLIO

1. *Tournaments of Henry VIII (7 paper fols. stitched together)*¹
 - a. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 8, Feb. 12th 1511.
 - b. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 13, Feb. 13th 1511.
 - c. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 12, May 19th 1516 (heading mutilated).
 - d. Tilting list, 6 v. 46, May 1st 1540.
 - e. S.C. Tilt, 6 v. first 36 of (d) (3 sheets).
2. *Field of Cloth of Gold, June 1520*
Paper book, 10 fols. Tilting lists—substantially the same as those printed in *Lordonnance et Ordre de Joustes etc.* (Paris, 1520).
3. *December 1554*
 - a. Challenge to barriers by Don Federigo de Cordoba, Don Fernando de Toledo, Don Francis de Toledo and Garciluso de la Vega. Dated Dec. 14th.
 - b. S.C. Tourney?, 12 v. 12, Dec. 18th 1554² (see above p. 000).
4. *Coronation of Queen Elizabeth I, January 1559*
 - a. Tourney list, 3 Chal. (Norfolk, Sir George Howard, Sir Henry Neville) v. 21 Ans. (led by Huntingdon, Sir Henry Seymour, Charles Howard). Sir Robert Rich and Charles Tyrell have been deleted and do not appear on the other documents relating to this occasion.
 - b. S.C. Tourney, 3 v. 19.
 - c. Proclamation of performances at Tourney (4 sheets)
 - d. S.C. Tilt, 3 v. 11. Of the Ans. two (Jerningham and Keys are not on a.).
 - e. S.C. Tilt, 3 v. 8.
 - f. S.C. Tilt, 3 v. 6 (first two names of Ans. in e missing).
5. *November 5th 1559*
 - a. S.C. Tilt, 2 Chal. (Robert Dudley and Hunsdon) v. 12 Ans. (led by Ambrose Dudley, Scrope and Windsor).
 - b. S.C. Tilt, 2 v. 6 (additional to the 12 Ans. in a).
 - c. U.C. Tilt (two fragments). Cf. No. 7.c.
 - d. Summary of scores of the 2 Chal. and the best Ans.
 - e. Proclamation of award of prizes for Tilt.
 - f. Rough drafts of e (3 sheets).
6. *April 21st 1560?*
 - a. U.C. Tilt, 4 Chal. (Norfolk, Ambrose Dudley, Sir George Howard, Sir Henry Neville) v. 16 Ans. (led by Huntingdon, Scrope, Mountjoy and Sheffield).
 - b. U.C. Tilt, 4 v. 11 Ans. (led by Jerningham, Keys, Warcop and Constable).
 - c. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 20.
 - d. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 18 (i.e. all but last two of c).
 - e. S.C. Tilt, 4 v. 16 (without last four of c).
 - f. Total of Chal. scores (2 sheets).
 - g. Total of 27 Ans. scores (cf. a and b).
 - h. Incomplete proclamation of award of prizes.
7. *April 28th 1560*
 - a. U.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9 (begins with Sussex v. Ambrose Dudley).
 - b. S.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9.
 - c. Tilting list, 9 v. 9.
 - d. Fragmentary proclamation of prizes (on dorso of No. 5.c).
8. *March 5th 1565*
 - a. Tilting list, 3 Chal. (Sir Sagremor, Sir Guye, Sir Lancerocke (sic) v. 24.
 - b. Tourney list, 20 Ans.
 - c. S.C. Tilt, 3 v. 24 (3 sheets, each 1 v. 8).
 - d. Total scores for Tourney, 3 v. 20.
9. *November 11th and 12th 1565*
 - a. S.C. Tilt, 4 Chal. (Christopher Hatton, Henry Knowles, Thomas Leighton, and Robert Colsell) v. 24 Ans. (led by Leicester, Herbert, Grey and Walter Windsor).
 - b. Copy of a.
 - c. Total scores for Tourney, 5 Chal. (the 4 in a and Earl of Warwick) v. 24.

to Rune for a Juell. The day was appoynted for the same to be on Wednesday following, and according to the appoyntment, the sayd Runners came". Unfortunately things continued to go amiss and on the Wednesday appointed Cumberland was unwell so that Windsor Herald had to make the following proclamation: "Wearas the right honorable Earle of Comberland, true, Loyall and devoted knight to her Maiestie, proclaymed a Challenge (with a prize) to be held this day, for her Maiesties honor, which the indisposition of his body will not permitt hym to performe. The same is to be deferred untill Sondag next, at which tyme he will be ready (If God permitt) in this place, at one of the Clock according to his former challenge. God save the Queen". But on the following Saturday the Queen wished the challenge to be deferred once again till Shrove-tide. Therefore Windsor Herald made another proclamation at the Court Gate and at Charing Cross, "accompanied with a Trompette, who sounded thrise before the proclaymacion". Notwithstanding Cumberland's indisposition, the other knights performed feats of arms on the original Wednesday of the challenge (Appendix, II, 28).

¹ Two cheques, not in the College of Arms, complete the Henrician series. One, for May 20th 1516, is a copy in Harl. 69, f. 16b. The other, for the Field of Cloth of Gold, is an emblazoned original at the Society of Antiquaries and was reproduced by Ffoulkes, *op. cit.*, Plate IX.

10. *May 7th and 8th 1571*
a. U.C. Barriers, 4 Chal. (Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee and Christopher Hatton) v. 27 Ans. (led by Stafford, Henry Seymour, Edward Herbert and Sir George Cary).
b. S.C. Barriers, 4 v. 27.
11. *January 22nd 1580*
S.C. Tilt, Chal. (Earl of Arundel assisted by Sir William Drury) v. 17 Ans. (led by Oxford, Windsor, Philip Sidney, and Edward Norreys).
12. *November 17th 1583*
a. U.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12 (Cf. below, MS. M.4, fol. 30).
b. U.C. Tilt, 13 v. 13 (3 copies). Includes Thomas Vavasour and Robert Alexander whose names do not appear on a.
13. *November 17th 1584*
a. Tilting list, 12 v. 12.
b. S.C. Tilt, 13 v. 13.
c. S.C. Tilt, 13 v. 13.
14. *November 17th 1588*
S.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12.
15. *November 17th 1589*
S.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12.
16. *November 17th and 19th 1590*
S.C. Tilt (see text, above p. 000).
17. *November 17th 1591*
U.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9.
18. *November 17th 1593*
a. S.C. Tilt, 7 v. 7.
b. S.C. Tilt, 7 v. 7. In same hand as a but scored differently.
19. *November 19th 1594*
S.C. Tilt, Chal. (Essex) v. 16.
20. *March 1494/5 and November 17th 1495*
Recto. U.C. Tilt, 3 v. 10 (Identical personnel as in M.4 fols. 45-6).
Verso. Tilting list, 10 v. 10. Dated Nov. 17th 1595.
21. *November 19th and 20th 1596*
S.C. Tilt, Chal. (Essex) v. 18.
22. *Cheques not yet dated.*
a. U.C. Tilt, 6 v. 6 (begins with Lord Grey v. Lord Clinton).
b. S.C. Tilt, 7 v. 7 (begins with Hunsdon v. Francis Hervey).
c. S.C. Tilt, 6 v. 6 (begins with Lord Henry Seymour v. Edward Hungerford).
23. *Miscellaneous Documents*
a. Draft challenge for jousts at Woodstock, endorsed 1575.
b. Form of proclamation of prizes for tournament (6 leaves in various hands).
c. Letter to Mr. Tilton giving the King's directions for preparations to be made for a tilt at Whitehall on March 24th 1620.

II. COLLEGE OF ARMS MS. M.4

Bound paper volume, 12" x 8". Consists of 58 numbered fols. preceded by 5 blank leaves and followed by 20 blank leaves.

Mounted between the first 5 blank leaves are the following:

- i. Undated list (begins with Arundel, Henry Grey, Sir Henry Lee, Sir Thomas Perot, and Ffoulke Greville).
- ii. S.C. Tilt dated 1577. 4 Chal. (Arundel, Windsor, Sidney, Greville).
- iii. Tilting list dated 1578 (begins with Oxford and Windsor). Judges are Northumberland, Worcester, Pembroke, Leicester.
- iv. List for Tourney and Tilt dated 1574 (begins with Hatton v. Sidney).
- v. Undated list of heralds' fees.
- vi. S.C. Tilt, November 17th 1581 (begins with Perot v. Thomas Ratcliffe).
- vii. Tilting list dated 1579 (begins with Oxford, Windsor, Sidney).

The numbered part of the volume contains the following:

1. *May 1571* (fols. 1a-3b)
a. Proclamation of challenge to Tilt, Tourney and Barriers, Twelfth Night 1570/71. 4 Chal. (Oxford, Charles Howard, Lee, Hatton).
b. Undated copy of letter from Queen postponing Tilt and Tourney from May 1st to May 7th and 8th.
c. U.C. Tilt, Tourney, Barriers, 4 v. 27. (3 fols.)
d. Proclamation of award of prizes for the feats of arms.

2. *November 17th 1572* (fol. 4a)
Folio headed and dated but left blank.
3. *December 17th 1572* (fol. 5a)
U.C. Tilt, 8 v. 8 (begins with Charles Howard v. Christopher Hatton). Jousts took place "the day after the maryage of The Earle of Oxford's daughter [crossed through] to the Lord Burleighs daughter".
4. *January 22nd 1580* (fol. 22a and b)
U.C. Tilt, Arundel v. 17 (cf. above, I, No. 11).
5. *November 17th 1583* (fol. 30a)
U.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12 (begins with Earl of Cumberland v. Lee).
6. *November 17th 1584* (fol. 31a)
U.C. Tilt, 13 v. 13 (begins with Lee v. Sidney, Cumberland v. Th. Howard).
7. *December 6th 1584* (fol. 32a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with Cumberland v. Thomas Ratcliffe).
8. *November 17th 1585* (fol. 33a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with Lee v. Greville, Cumberland v. Howard). Judges are Sussex and Ormond.

9. *November 17th 1586* (fol. 34a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with *Lee v. Cumberland*).
Ends with memorandum of fees paid to heralds.
10. *November 17th 1587* (fol. 35a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with *Essex v. Lee*).
11. *November 17th 1588* (fol. 36a)
U.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12 (begins with *Lee v. Essex*).
12. *November 17th 1589* (unnumbered fol. between fols. 37 and 38)
U.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12 (begins with *Lee v. Essex*). Ends with memorandum of fee to herald.
13. *November 17th 1590* (fol. 38a)
U.C. Tilt, 13 v. 13 (begins with *Lee v. Cumberland*).
Judges are Lord Henry Seymour, North, Norris.
14. *November 17th 1591* (fol. 40a)
U.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9 (begins with *Cumberland v. Southampton*). Judges are North and Norris.
15. *November 17th 1592* (fol. 41a)
Folio headed with date and ruled up, but no names entered.
16. *November 17th 1593* (fol. 42a)
U.C. Tilt, 7 v. 7 (begins with *Cumberland v. Southampton*). Judges are the Earl of Worcester, Sandes, North and Norris. Ends with memorandum of fees to heralds.
17. *November 17th 1594* (fol. 43a)
U.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9 (begins with *Essex v. Robert Knowles*).
Judges are Shrewsbury, Sandes, "Lord Sheffield that came not", and Norris. Ends with memorandum of fee to heralds.
18. *November 19th 1594* (fol. 44a and b)
U.C. Tilt, *Essex v. 15 Ans.* (Cf. I, No. 19). Proclamation of prizes (fol. 44b).
19. *March 1st, 2nd, 4th 1594/5* (fols. 45a-47a)
a. U.C. Tilt, 3 Chal. (*Sussex, Edward Wingfield, Thomas Gerrard v. 10 Ans.* (Cf. I, No. 20).)
b. U.C. Tourney, 3 Chal. (as above) v. 10. Judges are Windsor, Boroughs, Sheffield, and Sir Thomas Leighton.
c. U.C. Barriers, 3 Chal. (as above) v. 12.
20. *November 17th 1595* (fol. 48a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with *Cumberland v. Essex*).
21. *November 17th 1596* (fol. 50a)
U.C. Tilt, 11 v. 11 (begins with *Cumberland v. Essex*).
Judges are Howard, North, and Norris.
22. *November 19th and 20th 1596* (fol. 51a and b)
U.C. Tilt, *Essex v. 18 Ans.* (Cf. I, No. 21.)
Judges are Howard, Norris, and Sir Thomas Gorge, "who adjudged the best pryse to the Earle of Southampton, the second to Henry Helmes".
23. *November 17th 1597* (fol. 52a)
U.C. Tilt, 11 v. 11 (begins with *Cumberland v. Lord Mountjoy*).
24. *November 17th 1598* (fol. 53a)
U.C. Tilt, 11 v. 11 (begins with *Cumberland v. Sir Thomas Gerrard*). Judges are Seymour, Sandes, Laware, and Sir William Knowles.
25. *November 19th 1598* (fol. 54a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with the Earl Marshal v Robert Knowles and the Earl of Bedford who share the first group of courses).
26. *November 17th 1599* (fols. 54b-55b)
Proclamations deferring the customary challenge (see text, above p. 000).
27. *November 19th 1599* (fol. 55a)
U.C. Tilt, 9 v. 9 (begins with *Cumberland v. Robert Knowles*). Judges are Howard, Seymour, Sandes, and Sir William Knowles.
28. *November 21st 1599* (fol. 56a and b)
U.C. Tilt, 8 v. 8 (begins with *Sussex v. Sir Thomas Gerrard*). "The Judges as Before" (see No. 27). Fees to officers of arms (fol. 56b).
29. *November 17th 1600* (fol. 57a)
U.C. Tilt, 12 v. 12 (begins with *Cumberland v. Robert Knowles*). Judges are Seymour, Sandes, Sheffield, and Sir William Knowles.
30. *November 19th 1600* (fol. 58a)
U.C. Tilt, 10 v. 10 (begins with *Cumberland v. Robert Knowles*). Judges are Thomas Howard, Sheffield, Sir Henry Grey, and Sir Thomas Gorge.
31. *March 26th 1616* (fol. 58b)
Tilting list beginning with Earl of Pembroke v. Earl of Arundel. Memorandum of fee to heralds.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

Sir Hilary Jenkinson on the Handwriting of Sir William Dugdale

ON THE 15th of January 1961 the late Sir Hilary Jenkinson wrote to me as follows.

"I wonder whether you can help in a quest in which (an absurd thing, of course, at my age) I am tempted to involve myself? Briefly, I am exceedingly interested—I have been for many years—in that curious phenomenon the hand-writing of Sir W. Dugdale; and believe that I can solve the problem how, where and why he acquired it; and what is its place in another little problem—that of the point of view of large numbers of people who took to writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The trouble is that, to make sure, I have got to see, if possible, every scrap of his writing that has survived; and this is a very big undertaking, even though the 'seeing' would be in most cases a very rapid process—a mere glance. I can begin with those in the possession of the present Sir W.D. and in fact had a number of those through my hands a few years ago; but to them must be added those at Oxford, in the Heralds' College and at the B.M., apart from odds and ends (no doubt) in all kinds of places. So far as I know, and have been able to ascertain from Sir William and from Anthony Wood at Warwick, no one has up to now (you will correct me if I am wrong?) made any serious attack upon this subject. What I would, as a preliminary, ask of your kindness is whether you have at the College a complete (and dated) list of the Dugdale MSS. you hold? Or, failing this, easy means of making such a list by exceptions from larger and more general catalogues? I start from a basis of complete ignorance of what you have but but imagine there is a good deal."

I recalled in my answer that Sir Hilary had mentioned this project to me many years before. I told him that I could, and gladly would get out for him our main blocks of Dugdale handwriting, his original Visitations, Visitation papers and a few more, but that there was no quick or easy way of locating scattered scraps of it. He accordingly came to the College on the 1st of February, when I showed him Dugdale's rough copy Visitations, Visitation papers, his manuscript *Yorkshire Arms*, his signatures in the Waiting and Partition Books and certain letters of 1698-9 in MS. Heralds IV (see my *Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, pp. xxiii-iv) of which the last proved to be of the greatest interest to him. I also showed him a photograph of the manuscript copy of the Rous Roll made by Dugdale in 1636 of which the original is in the possession of Sir William Dugdale, Bt., at Merevale, to which reference is made in Letters to Sir Simon Archer, printed by Hamper, pp. 155-7 and 159.

A few days later I wrote to him giving some further information and had the following answer dated 12/13th February 1961.

"Many thanks for your letter: it arrived just about the time when the mercury, if I had had a thermometer in my mouth, would have begun to show signs of rising, and I have been in bed ever since getting rid (I hope) of what was (I suppose) one of the prevalent forms of influenza; and finding that a whole time occupation. Even Dugdaling has lost its charm: but to-day there are faint signs of recurrence—among them a Great Thought: that possibly I may be particularly fitted to work on this subject, because the great Sir W.D. and I have one thing in common, a like point of view from which we look at hand-writing. There is of course the trifling difference that in his case it produced an active, and successful, effort to establish for himself a basic principle of writing and thereafter to build on it a satisfactory and beautiful norm for his personal use; which remained constant, with little variation, for the rest of his life. As you see, I am, so to speak tuning in again—at your expense, I fear. How long I shall remain 'in' I do not, of course, know: but my first serious attempt to devote something more than a series of scattered hours to the subject has not been entirely without results; because apart from gathering quite an appreciable amount of fresh material (though Heaven knows I thought I had enough already!) from you and the B.M., I have been able to fix for myself a period of main—or at least immediate—interest, from the end of the first series of Diaries (1636, 1637) to perhaps no later than 1645. This, though purely provisional, of course, has the great advantage of eliminating from any list of what must immediately be seen a very large proportion of the known surviving MSS., including all the Visitations and V. Papers. I am left, however, with a task quite big enough—that of going for the proof of my theory to the Symon Archer Letters (at Oxford), the 48 Dugdale Note Books (*ibidem*) and all the early stuff there may be at Merevale Hall. The last named is what chiefly worries me . . . What I need in fact is the strength of mind to ask if I may come and see for myself what there is ' . . . Now I have bored you with a very long letter (very ill written, too) without answering any question of yours or even putting one on my own account. I will do both—briefly."

The next paragraph refers, as follows, to a suggestion I had made that the Rous Roll transcript was in fact a fair copy by Dugdale of his original rough copy:

"(i) Yes, I agree: a note that a list was a copy of an earlier (and perhaps a rough) copy made by W.D. need not prevent the later one also being in Dugdale's hand. My trouble is that I begin to suspect W.D. of a bad habit (good from your point of view, bad from mine) of fair-copying; and sometimes of doing so without telling us. Why, in fact, should he tell us? Do you or I, when we have corrected what we had hoped, perhaps, would be the final draft of a Memorandum and decide to make, or have made, a clean copy—do we think it necessary to record the fact? Very well: but suppose the Document to be headed by a statement that this is a Memo. of certain things we saw or Sir W.D. saw on April 1 1661 or 1961, shall we, or did Sir W.D., always remember to add that the actual writing of this particular copy was done so many weeks, months or years later? Do you see what a flood of darkness this throws, in combination with what (if my observations so far made of W.D.'s passion for tidy writing is correct) on the exact dating of a lot of the apparently dateable survivals?"

To tell the truth I was wondering, all the time I was looking at the large fair pages of that Finch Hatton MS. deposited at the B.M., how much of the writing could have been done at how near a time to how many of the visits. Disturbing thought!"

He had unhappily no chance to take the matter further for he died on the 5th of March, but before that date I saw him once more when he explained to me very briefly what his theory was.

Dugdale's well known and highly characteristic hand differs greatly from the early hand found in his Diaries or Almanack notes of the late 1620s and early 1630s and it seems that this hand was formed during the period of his studies in the public records between 1635 and about 1637. Jenkinson's theory was that it was formed not only during but *by* these studies and arose from the letter by letter transcription of mediaeval documents, combined with a delight in written forms for their own sake which Jenkinson undoubtedly shared with Dugdale.

I have felt that these results, so far as they have gone, of an uncompleted investigation should be placed on record, both as a possible starting point for some future enquirer and by way of tribute to Sir Hilary Jenkinson.

ANTHONY R. WAGNER,
Garler King of Arms

A NOTE ON DOCUMENT REPAIR AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

THE REPAIRING DEPARTMENT at the Public Record Office remains faithful to what are known as traditional methods of document repair—that is, parchment documents are repaired with parchment for the most part, and paper documents with paper; when the written surface must be strengthened, silk gauze is applied; only wheat-flour paste is used as an adhesive, and the size applied to paper documents is a gelatine size made from parchment waste. The basic methods now employed were introduced about 50 years ago, and it is satisfactory to be able to record that experience has justified them; they have stood the test of time. Lamination processes using sheets of cellulose acetate or other plastic material have not so far been introduced, largely from caution and a desire to see the long-term effects of such processes before adopting them. It is felt that there is a possibility that the complex synthetic materials used may in time undergo changes which could frustrate the purposes of the repair.

This general adherence to traditional methods, however, does not imply a rejection of any change or innovation; there is, in fact, a continual search for improvements in method and for more effective or more economical materials, within the limits of what can be safely used. Many experiments have been made, and some of these have led to marked improvement in repairing technique.

The high cost and often inferior quality of repair parchment since the war has prompted more than one Record Office to look for a substitute which could be used for documents not of the first importance. The material used for the repair of parchment must be as strong as the sound parts of the document, and this rules out the use of paper by itself in most cases; linen and cotton fabrics have the required strength, but there is a fundamental difficulty in their use arising from the fact that they shrink when damped and expand again when dried, whereas parchment expands when damp and shrinks when dried. Thus if a parchment document is backed with a closely-woven linen or cotton fabric, it curls up irrepressibly when dried. This effect is less apparent with some fabrics than with others; it is manageable with jaconette, and this is used at the P.R.O. for backing large parchment documents which have to be folded. It can be overcome by using a loosely-woven cotton mull for backing, and backing this again with thin paper: the shrinkage of the paper when dried counteracts the curl. This method gives a satisfactory repair, but involves an additional stage and additional material, so offers little economy. The P.R.O. learned the use of 'bonded fibre' from another Record Office and used it with very fair success for a number of years. The merits and limitations of this material are well-known; it was never very popular with the craftsmen because it absorbs a great deal of paste, even when pre-sized, and takes a long time to dry; its use has now been discontinued. Cotton organdie was then tried, and promised well: this material is thin and strong, easy to apply, and the cut edge does not fray. But the difficulty of curling persisted, and so organdie also has been dropped. The result of these experiments has been largely to restore the *status quo*, but there is some satisfaction to be obtained from a practical demonstration of the soundness of a principle—in this case, that parchment should be repaired with parchment. One small innovation, however, has survived and has been incorporated into the repairing process as a useful measure of economy, namely, the use of hand-made bank paper for filling-in repairs to parchment documents, in place of parchment pieces cut to shape and pared. The paper is pasted on and torn to shape, as in paper repairing, with considerable saving of time. This method is only used on documents which can be regarded as of secondary importance.

When terylene and nylon fibres came into general use, it was hoped, at Chancery Lane and doubtless elsewhere, that materials made from them would be useful in document repair. Trials were made of fine terylene gauze as a substitute for silk gauze, and subsequently of certain 'non-woven fabrics' made from terylene and other synthetic fibres (these 'fabrics' look something like tissue-paper). It was soon established, however, that none of these could be made to stick securely with flour-paste, and the use of special chemical adhesives would introduce

an element of uncertainty in regard to long-term stability. A very valuable use has, however, been found for terylene material based on this very property of non-adherence with flour paste—namely, as a substitute for waxed tissue in the process of repair. The traditional method involves the use of a support for the document during repair: waxed tissue serves this purpose, but has disadvantages. It cannot be used more than two or three times at most, and the traces of wax which it tends to leave on the documents appear as an unpleasant patchy sheen at the finish. Several substitutes have been tried: polyethylene sheet is excellent in many ways, but may impart a glaze to the document which is unaesthetic if harmless; 'Kodatrace', a matt-surfaced plastic, avoids this feature but is rather expensive and not durable in use. A plain terylene fabric, however, has been found to be as near to the ideal for this purpose as we are likely to get. It is very durable and can be rinsed out and used repeatedly; it is porous, so that air-bubbles are not so troublesome when the material is laid down on the bench; and a document can be dried upon it without fear of adhesion as long as there is no excess of paste on the supported side. It is used in the normal way, in place of waxed tissue, and also in conjunction with sheets of perspex laid over the glass window of the repair bench: on the completion of each repair, the work, carried on the perspex sheet, is set aside to dry and so leaves the bench free for the next document. When the work is dry, and the terylene support has been peeled off, the document is flat and pressing can be dispensed with. The method is of general application, but is perhaps especially useful for documents with applied seals, which are not easy to press.

Another change has been the adoption of thick blotting paper for drying and pressing documents in place of drawing paper; the paper chosen as suitable on general grounds was tested by the Government Laboratory and found to be free from any potentially deleterious elements. Such paper is much more absorbent than drawing paper, and if the document should stick to the pressing paper at any point, as may happen through carelessness or ill-luck, the surface of the document is not likely to be stripped if the two are inadvertently pulled apart (this may easily happen if drawing paper is used). The blotting paper does not last as long, but this is no great disadvantage, since the former pressing papers tended to be kept in service after the point at which it would have been well to discard them.

A long trial was given recently to paste made from wheat starch (instead of flour); such paste is more quickly made, and is very smooth and easy to work up: it appeared to be a great advance. Gradually, however, disadvantages began to shew themselves; it had not the holding power of flour paste and would not do, for example, for applying the backing of a map which had to be rolled. Also, the craftsmen found that it dried too quickly for some work, and lacked the viscosity or 'slide' which is valuable especially in parchment repair; it has now been abandoned. At the suggestion of Mr. W. H. Langwell, the flour paste is now made in a pressure cooker—a method which helps to produce an even consistency. The only addition to the paste is a small quantity of salicylanilide.

In the seal-room, two changes have been made. Protection pads for seals are now made of 'cellulose wadding' encased in polyethylene sheet (instead of cotton wool and grease-proof paper). The cellulose wadding can be cut with scissors and built up in layers to any desired thickness; the polyethylene sheet is heat-sealed round the edges of the pad. For protective bags for pendent seals, tapes are incorporated; for protection of seals *en placard*, a fold of polyethylene-coated paper is sealed to one end of the pad, which can then be attached by paste or a stitch. The polyethylene sheet, being itself of the nature of a wax, is quite a suitable material to be in contact with the seal. Pads of certain standard sizes are now made by a contractor to P.R.O. specification.

A great advance in the moulding of seals has been achieved by the use of synthetic silicone rubber: this is applied as a thick liquid which follows the contours of the seal accurately, and is rubbery and flexible when set, so that an intricate and deeply-recessed seal can be moulded accurately and without likelihood of damage. So far the moulds have shown no sign of deterioration.

An experiment in sizing has recently been carried out with the idea of finding a means of strengthening modern paper records, which are finding their way in increasing quantities into the charge of the archivist. The normal gelatinous size can be used for this purpose, but the drying and subsequent pressing of papers sized with an aqueous solution is not a rapid process: Mr. W. H. Langwell suggested that a spirit solution of polyvinyl acetate would be as good as a gelatinous size, and that quantities of papers could be treated rapidly, since a spirit solution would dry rapidly and not cockle the paper. Polyvinyl acetate is a synthetic resin used, in the form of an emulsion, as a glue and in paints; it is considered to be highly stable and permanent, and not liable to discolouration. Tests on sized papers were carried out by H.M. Stationery Office, and these tests shewed that the synthetic size is as effective as gelatinous size. The trial was made on some printed material on poor quality paper, and the size used was a 6% solution of the adhesive 'Heatfix' in industrial methylated spirit, to which 1% of magnesium acetate was added as an acid-acceptor. The size was sprayed on, but could equally well (and perhaps in some respects with advantage) have been applied with a brush. The papers which have been sized will be examined at intervals to see whether any discolouration or other deterioration takes place, and whether the sized papers shew a greater durability than those which were not sized.

D. B. WARDLE

ATMOSPHERIC SULPHUR AND THE DURABILITY OF PAPER

IT IS NOW generally realised that one of the principal causes for the weakening of paper in storage is acidity and that this acid may either be present in the paper when it is made or picked up from acid atmospheres^{1, 2}.

It is known, too, that really good quality papers, particularly those made from cotton and linen rag, will keep much better than those made from woodpulp. This is obvious to anyone who inspects an old library and compares the condition of books printed before 1840, when woodpulp was first developed, with those made since 1870, when its use became common. For this reason important documents are still usually printed on rag papers but this is of little use to the librarian who has to deal with ordinary books.

A recent book³ describes the making of durable book papers from woodpulp, gives the specification they must satisfy and predicts, from standard ageing tests, that such books will remain usable under "ordinary" conditions for 400 years. Barrow and Sproul⁴ have examined a large number of books made in the 20th century and find definite evidence that they have gone off rapidly in strength and that many 25 to 50 year old books are already unusable due to degradation of the paper. The information obtained by the U.S. National Bureau of Standards⁵ suggests that the standard ageing test of 72 hours at 100°C, used for testing durable papers, is equivalent to 25 years' natural ageing.

Chemists usually expect a slow chemical reaction to double in rate for every 10°C rise in temperature, but if it is assumed that "natural" ageing under "ordinary" conditions in Virginia means 25°C, then it is easy to calculate that the rate of ageing of paper must go up about 2.9 times for every 10°C rise in temperature in order to account for the relation to each other of the natural ageing rate and the artificial ageing test.

If 2.9 times is the correct figure, then one can understand why so much of the pressure for improved book papers has come from libraries in the Southern and Western States of the U.S.A. where conditions are much hotter than in Great Britain. Here we might expect books to last two to three times as long. Woodpulp and esparto papers have only been with us for just over a century and the main problem may not have reached our libraries yet.

The present authors have been concerned with the tendency of papers to pick up sulphur. In books this leads to embrittlement at the edges. We have found that the tendency of papers to pick up sulphur, which Langwell⁶ followed by chemical analysis, can very easily be measured by using radio-active sulphur (S^{35}) as a tracer. The paper may be exposed to an atmosphere containing, say, 0.5% sulphur dioxide by volume. If the sulphur dioxide is labelled by the presence of a tiny but known amount of radioactive sulphur, then the sulphur pick-up may be measured by the standard counting methods used with radioactive materials.

The results we have obtained by this method are published in detail elsewhere⁶. It is possible to detect and measure the sulphur picked up and fixed by the paper in as short a time as two hours and the method is, therefore, much more sensitive than the measurement of changes of acidity. The results confirm Langwell's conclusion that copper and iron, often present in paper as impurities, will help to fix sulphur by catalysing the oxidation of sulphur dioxide to sulphuric acid. They also confirm the traditional view of papermakers that high quality rag furnishes are good; we have found that these pick up much less sulphur than impure furnishes. Mechanical pulp, in particular, the main constituent of newsprint, picks up much more sulphur than rag. Bleached wood pulps are intermediate, the highest qualities being best.

We have also used flat-headed glass electrodes to measure the pH of paper⁷ by a method which avoids serious damage to the paper itself. While it has been found⁸ that this method does not agree too closely with the standard extraction methods, it does avoid destruction of the sample.

In the table below tests are given for a few typical samples, most of them old enough to have suffered by exposure to acid atmospheres.

¹ H. S. Plenderleith and A. Werner, this *Journal*, I, 195-201.

² W. H. Langwell, *The Conservation of Books and Documents*, London, 1957.

³ "The Manufacture and Testing of Durable Book Papers", based on the Investigations of W. J. Barrow, edited by R. W. Church, Virginia State Library, 1960.

⁴ W. J. Barrow, R. C. Sproull, *Science*, 1959, **129**, 1075.

⁵ W. K. Wilson, J. L. Harvey, J. Mandel, T. Workman, TAPPI, 1955, **38**, 543.

⁶ F. L. Hudson and W. D. Milner, *Paper Technology*, 1961, **2** (in course of publication).

⁷ F. L. Hudson and W. D. Milner, *Svensk Papperstidning*, 1959, 62(3), 83.

⁸ J. H. Flynn and L. E. Smith, TAPPI, 1961, **44**, 223.

Sulphur picked up in 48 hours' Exposure to Air Containing 0.5% Sulphur Dioxide, Relative Humidity 70%

Sample Ref.	Date of Paper	Furnish	Surface pH	Sulphur Pick-up, parts per 100,000
<i>Newsprint Samples</i>				
1	1900	Mainly Mechanical Wood	3.6	32
2	1940	" " "	3.9	31
3	1934	" " "	3.7	34
4	1957	" " "	4.8	29
<i>Rag Papers</i>				
7	1672	100% Rag	4.0	11
8	1776	" "	4.2	13
9	1780	" "	4.1	12
10	1883	" "	4.4	13
12	1910	" "	4.3	14
<i>Modern Book Papers</i>				
15	1927	60% Esparto	3.9	21
16	1930	" "	3.8	27
17	1905	" "	4.6 (Edge)	22
			8.0 (Middle)	26
20	1890	Mainly Mechanical	3.8 (Edge)	26
			6.4 (Middle)	24
21	1883	Mainly Mechanical	3.5 (Edge)	29
			4.6 (Middle)	31

The last three samples listed in the table had edges which were obviously damaged by acid and these were tested separately from the middles. The difference in pH is striking but the acid edges are still capable of picking up more sulphur. The relation between age and pH of the first four samples is demonstrated by the results shown and the lower sulphur pick up of the rag samples is clear too. All the samples, except the middles of numbers 17 and 20, are too low in pH to keep well from now on but it is quite likely, though unfortunately impossible to prove, that the rag samples 7, 8, 9, have only gone down in pH in recent years. From the time of printing until 1935 they remained, probably undisturbed, in a country villiage, but since, that time have been in urban atmospheres. Their life could be greatly prolonged by the mild alkali treatment recommended by Barrow and Sproull⁴.

It is clearly desirable to consider new specifications for book papers on the lines suggested by Church³ but libraries will be concerned with the problem of present book papers for a long time to come. It is obviously desirable to improve ventilation systems and keep books away from contamination by sulphur dioxide. It is well known that damp must be avoided, to prevent fungoid attack. In Great Britain this usually means employing sufficient heat to keep the relative humidity of the building down.

If some direct comparisons of books stored for fifty years in libraries at definitely different temperatures could be made, it would soon show whether the library temperature is as important as we have suggested. If it is, then there might be sufficient evidence to indicate that the relative humidities of libraries should normally be controlled by refrigeration and not just by central heating. Books probably should be stored in the 'cool, dry place', which is so often suggested for organic materials generally, but which can only be obtained by a definite air drying system, most conveniently produced by refrigeration.

In conclusion, it is clear that books are damaged owing to the effect on paper of acidity included when the paper is made or picked up later from acid atmospheres, particularly those containing sulphur dioxide.

The rate of degradation of paper also appears to depend on temperature and comparisons between different libraries might usefully be made in order to get more evidence on this point.

We should like to thank the British Paper and Board Makers' Association for the grant of a Rackleg scholarship for one of us.

F. LYTCH HUDSON, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.I.C.,
Manchester College of Science and Technology.
 and
 W. D. MILNER, B.Sc., Ph.D., A.R.I.C.,
Star Paper Mills Ltd., Feniscowles, Blackburn.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S PLAYS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

In 1933 the Lord Chamberlain presented to the British Museum the plays that were submitted to his predecessors for licensing between 1824 and 1851. Laws requiring a copy of every play to be deposited in the Lord Chamberlain's Office before it could be performed had been in force since 1737; but when John Larpent, Examiner of Plays, died in 1824, all the plays then in the Office passed into his family's possession, and this collection is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The plays now in the British Museum were thus the earliest remaining portion of this rather unusual archive; although they are in a sense Public Records, it was felt that they should be preserved in a Library where there was access to printed editions and to other related materials, and they accordingly became Additional MSS 42865-43038. It is intended to transfer further parts of the collection in the near future; at present later plays are still in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, where there are no facilities for making them available to students.

The collection in the British Museum consists of about 4000 plays, of which the majority have never been printed. Only a few of the manuscripts are in the author's own hands; most are by professional copyists. They represent a period when British drama was at its lowest ebb, and they include practically no plays of literary merit. Of the principal playwrights of the time—J. B. Buckstone, Edward Fitzball, G. D. Pitt, J. R. Planché—none achieved lasting fame, and even the few plays by greater writers, such as Mary Russell Mitford and Charles Dickens, are counted among the least of their works. But for the student of social history the collection is a valuable source, and local historians may also find it profitable to examine some of the plays written especially for provincial theatres.

In the Lord Chamberlain's Office the plays were bound in approximately chronological order in volumes containing from seven to fifty plays each. They have now been rebound, but their former arrangement and division into volumes have been retained. They can be made available in the Manuscripts Students' Room, where there is a complete index of titles, but a full list of the plays and an author index have yet to be published in the forthcoming *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1931-35. Meanwhile the catalogue of plays in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900* (6v., 1952-59), vols. iv and v, with index in vol. vi, forms a valuable guide to the collection.

P. D. A. HARVEY
Dept. of MSS., British Museum

Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives of Liverpool.
The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool has deposited in the Lancashire Record Office the majority of his pre-1894

archives, at which date the diocese of Liverpool included that part of Lancashire now in the diocese of Lancaster.

They may be broadly classified into parochial diocesan, interdiocesan and educational records and include, *inter alia*, Visitation Returns from 1830, Mission and Parish Balance Sheets from 1850, Clergy Lists from 1741, Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* letters from 1780, Schools Balance Sheets from 1850, Schools Religious Examination and Inspection Returns, 1858 and 1864, various records of Northern and Lancashire Vicariate, the state of the dioceses 1847-1896, Mission deeds from 1664, Lea Mission papers from 1790, Fernyhalgh papers from 1658, Blackburn Trust deeds from 1589, Bishop Gore's Visitation diaries, Parochial Census Returns 1855, Mission Accounts 1890-1894, Croston baptismal register 1780-1792, Letter-books of Bishops Goss and O'Reilly, an extensive collections of about 6,000 letters, the correspondents including the Holy See, most of the English bishops, Lingard, E. W. Pugin, Gerard Manley Hopkins, William Rathbone, etc., etc. There are also very many other documents—either individual or in smaller groups—bearing upon the early administration of the diocese.

It must also be added that the Archbishop has expressed approval of older documents—especially pre-1837 registers—coming into the Record Office from individual churches.

Plymouth's earliest Borough charter. The existence of the earliest letters patent granted to the borough of Plymouth has recently been ascertained in rather unusual circumstances. All the early Plymouth charters were destroyed in 1548 when the Cornish attacked the town, and as the two earliest were never enrolled in Chancery there has been considerable confusion in the past and all knowledge of the earlier had been completely lost.

Plymouth is unique because it was incorporated by an Act of the Parliament which met in November 1439. A charter granted on 25 July 1440 giving additional powers and privileges is well known, but letters patent reciting and confirming the incorporation, dated 9 July 1440, were already forgotten by 1663. A complete transcript appears in the *Black Book of Plymouth* amongst the city records. This volume was compiled by the town clerk about 1534 as a record of the town's most important documents. A near contemporary translation of part of the letters patent has also come to light in Simon Carswyle's Book. Although both volumes are well known, it seems that no local historian ever read more than the first line, and assumed that they were copies of the charter of 25 July 1440.

The Corporation hopes to publish a description of all the city's charters to celebrate this discovery.

St. Marylebone Public Library has recently acquired, through the good offices of the British Records Association, a large deposit of records relating to the Howard de Walden and Portland Estates. The documents had already been assembled for collection by a waste-paper merchant when one of the Estate staff realised that they might be of some value and got in touch with B.R.A. The Portland Estate covered, roughly, the area bounded by Oxford Street, Marylebone Lane, Marylebone Road and Great Titchfield Street; it passed to the family through the marriage of Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley to William,

2nd Duke of Portland. She was the daughter and heiress of Edward, 2nd Earl of Oxford. Among the documents are a Fines Book for 1734, Rent books for 1779 and 1782, and a Fines Book for conversion of leases for 1825-54. The papers are in confusion at the moment and it will take some time before it is possible to list them and make them available for research. If items of particular interest are found, a note will be inserted in this *Journal*.

The Lincolnshire Archives Office, incorporating the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office, has moved its headquarters from Exchequer Gate to the Castle. There, above the petty sessional court rooms in the former governor's house and debtors' prison, a new search room and offices have been equipped which, situated in close proximity to increasing quantities of records as well as the department's reference libraries already deposited in re-adapted prison cells, will provide more spacious accommodation for readers and better facilities for both students and staff. The new address is: Lincolnshire Archives Office, The Castle, Lincoln. The premises in Exchequer Gate will in future be chiefly used for storage purposes.

Changes in Australian Archive Administration. Under the provisions of the National Library Act 1960 which became effective on March 23rd, 1961, the National Library of Australia has replaced the Commonwealth National Library. At the same time the Commonwealth Archives Office has been established as part of the Prime Minister's Department to replace the Archives Division of

the Commonwealth National Library as the organisation responsible for the preservation of Government archives.

The Commonwealth Archives Office, for the time being, has the same functions and the same staffing arrangements as the Archives Division. However a comprehensive review of functions and organisation is under way. When this has been completed a decision will be made as to whether special legislation is desirable.

The National Library of Australia will continue to collect source materials for Australian history other than Government Archives.

A change has also occurred in New South Wales. The Archives authority of New South Wales has been established under the provisions of the Archives Act 1960 and this body will control the activities of the Archives Office of New South Wales. This office, too, will be concerned only with Government archives and the Mitchell Library will continue to collect other historical source materials.

Plastic paper clips. Archivists may find useful a plastic paper clip which is produced in various colours and sizes, particularly for replacing rusted ferrous clips and for attaching temporary labels to single documents. The strength of grip is slightly greater than that of the brass paper clip, especially if the latter has been used once, but careless use may result in breakage. The ideal would be the introduction of suitable plastic clips for use by the current administrators who make the files in the first place. Plastic clips can be obtained from Stationers, one brand being marketed as "Original Plastiklips", and the price for suitable sizes varies between 6s. 9d. and 10s. 3d. *per 1,000.*

REVIEWS

ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CENTURY AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By N. R. Ker. The Lyell lectures 1952-3. Oxford University Press, 1960. Large 4to, xiv + 67 pp., 29 pl. £3. 3s. *od.*

The text of this beautifully produced volume consists of the Lyell lectures delivered at Oxford in Hilary term, 1953. Their principal aim, says Mr. Ker in his introduction, is 'to describe the changes in the century after the Norman Conquest in the script of manuscripts written in England'. Readers who are insensitive to the overtones carried in academic circles by the word 'manuscripts', *lout court*, may need to be warned that Mr. Ker's business is with the books which accumulated during his period in monastic and cathedral libraries. If from this they draw the conclusion that he has nothing to say to them, they will be forgoing an enlightening experience. The shotgun divorce of nearly fifty years ago between palaeography and the study of court hand was never intended to apply to dates earlier than about 1200.

Mr. Ker's lectures are devoted to the nature and the interpretation of the palaeographical evidence for dating and placing a specific category of literary manuscripts; and it was inevitable that many of his criteria should be of little or no relevance outside his chosen field. It would be naive, however, to suppose that literacy in the Middle Ages was as compartmentalised as the modern study of its products. The most important of the material used by Mr. Ker for dating developments in handwriting is not literary at all: dated or datable specimens of the book hands practised in England between the Conquest and about 1170 are virtually confined to archive sources, and in exploiting these sources for his own immediate purposes Mr. Ker has facilitated the criticism of the numerous documents of this period, ranging from charters to abbreviations of Domesday Book, which exhibit more or less close approximations to the canonical book hand. For the first time we have a clear and succinct description, supported by carefully chosen illustrations, of the features which distinguished the English from the Norman version of Carolingian minuscule at the Conquest and of the ways in which, after a generation or so, reciprocal influences began to be manifested and the characteristic set hand of the middle of the 12th century was evolved, to be transformed, before the century's end, into Gothic. Among the changes which effected this transformation Mr. Ker might perhaps have included the treatment of capitals, notably C and rounded E, which, with superfluous internal chords, provide striking evidence of the Gothic *horror vacui*.

The philosopher's stone of literary palaeography is the 'house style' which ought ideally to distinguish the products of any one scriptorium. The mannered hands affected in, say, the papal chancery or, later on, the English courts, represented a conscious and deliberate attempt to assert professional exclusiveness and perhaps to make casual forgery more difficult: lacking such objectives the 12th-century scriptorium might conceivably have been inspired by *pietas* to cultivate

a purely domestic style of writing. But Mr. Ker, of whose vast experience and powers of observation this book affords ample proof, confesses that he has been on the whole disappointed in his search for evidence that any particular English scriptorium save St. Albans employed a distinctively recognisable hand in the first half of the 12th century.

Nor does his section on scribal practices suggest that there is at present much more hope that reliable criteria of provenance are to be found in such features as the pricking and ruling of the parchment, the distribution of the text on the page, the use of signatures and catchwords, or the treatment of corrigenda. This section is nevertheless extremely valuable for its own sake as a general account of most of the essential processes of book production during the period. Especially interesting is the information which Mr. Ker has assembled in his text and supplemented in an appendix on the punctuation of literary manuscripts. Two of the marks discussed—the 'seven and point' and the 'line'—I do not remember having seen used in archives, perhaps because they do not become common in literary manuscripts until archives are already beginning to be more sparingly pointed. The insertion of stress accents, of which Mr. Ker illustrates examples from the Winchester Bible and the 'Auct. Bible' in the Bodleian, can be seen in a Combermere deed of 1180 in favour of the canons of Owston, written by a book scribe [P.R.O., L.R. 14/27].

There are one or two slips, whose triviality would disqualify them for notice in the work of any scholar less conscientiously precise than Mr. Ker. In the description (p. xi) of Plate 18b 'holograph' is misused for 'autograph'; and the typographical term 'body' has a valuable technical meaning which is not quite that attributed to it (p. 44) of 'the total distance from the top of an ascender to the bottom of a descender'.

But it would be quite wrong for this review to close on a note of criticism, however mild. Mr. Ker has dealt in a masterly fashion with a subject on which he is an acknowledged authority, and these lectures can only increase the respect in which he is already held.

L. C. HECTOR

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANISTIC SCRIPT. By B. L. Ullman. Rome, Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1960. 146 pp., 70 facsim. £2. 14s. od. (paper-bound).

Professor Ullman's scholarly monograph is a kind of appendix or supplement to a passage in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. It offers answers to the threefold question of how, when and where the humanistic hands arose, and discusses the use made of those hands by Italian copyists in 15th-century manuscripts.

According to Professor Ullman's view, the humanistic hands had Coluccio Salutati for their inspiration, Poggio for the inventor of the formal upright 'roman' and Niccolo Niccoli for the originator of what subsequently became 'italic'. This conflicts with Mr. Stanley Morison's suggestion that Niccoli, Poggio's senior by about sixteen years, was probably the inventor of the formal hand and that Poggio was his pupil.

The question ultimately turns on the ascription of specific unsigned manuscripts. If Professor Ullman's reading of the palaeographical evidence is as sound as his interpretation of the collateral sources is convincing, he has made out a very strong case. But the identification of individual writers working in a period of experiment and reform and consciously subjecting themselves to new disciplines is a notoriously difficult business. Some of Professor Ullman's readers will be uneasy about at least one of the criteria he has adopted for identifying the handiwork of Poggio: 'the most interesting device in Poggio's bag of tricks was word division. He and some of his followers broke all the rules in the interest of justifying the line'. Were there any rules for them to break?

L. C. HECTOR

WINCHESTER CONSISTORY COURT DEPOSITIONS, 1561-1602. Selections edited, with an Introduction, by Arthur J. Willis. Hambleden, Lyminge, Folkestone, 1960. 69 + xiii pp. 18s.

The work of Mr. Willis on the Winchester episcopal records has been known for several years and his present book is not the first which he has produced on the basis of his researches. In the preface to this work he claims that it will illustrate court procedure, give an accurate picture of life at the time, and indicate the value of such records to the local historian and the genealogist. No one who reads it will venture to deny his claims. Those who are already acquainted with ecclesiastical court depositions in other dioceses will only regret that the cost of printing, and the apparent failure of Mr. Willis to revive the Hampshire Record Society, have limited the size and scope of the volume. It is to be hoped that at some later date he will be able to print *in extenso* the first Winchester deposition book (1531-48). This contains such gems as the reply of Katherine Redyng in a matrimonial cause that "she never receyved of Richard Austen any crowne of gold ne yet any other token but only a natkyn that he toke her to washe which yet she kepith unwashed".

Meanwhile we are most grateful to Mr. Willis for what he has provided. An introduction on procedure in the bishop's court is excellent. It suffers only from the omissions inevitable in its compression into three pages. Next come fourteen pages of complete transcripts. With these can be coupled the complete record of a cause taken from the court act (instance) books in Appendix II. Here, it is perhaps a pity that Mr. Willis prefers the classical 'ae' to the ecclesiastical lawyers 'e' for the genitive case. Otherwise, the transcripts and the facsimile would be prescribed reading for every palaeography student.

The rest of the volume is devoted to extracts from the depositions, arranged under the headings of: Tithes and Dues, Defamation, Testamentary, Matrimonial, Disciplinary, and Miscellaneous. These are full of interest for the Hampshire

historian and should stimulate further work amongst the diocesan records. One cause of more than local importance is that of Hugh Tunckes, rector of Penton Mewsey, who secretly married his serving maid in 1570. It was difficult for any clergyman to marry at that period—we remember the Queen's own pungent comments on the subject of clerical marriage. Therefore, we should like to know more about his statement that he was driven to marry "by my Lord Bishop and others". This would be Bishop Horne, a Marian exile and vigorous opponent of Popery. But as in so many ecclesiastical causes our curiosity is not satisfied.

The bibliography is remarkably complete. It omits Clarke's *Praxis*, presumably because it is in Latin, but John Godolphin's *Repertorium Canonicum* (1687) and John Ayliffe's *Parergon* (1726) surely deserve mention as much as Gibson's *Codex*. Mr. Willis has also missed the work of W. C. Renshaw at Lewes, and particularly his article on depositions in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 56, but these are small blemishes.

C. EDWIN WELCH

SUFFOLK AND THE GREAT REBELLION 1640-1660. Edited by Alan Everitt, Suffolk Records Society, vol. 3. The Society, 1960. 141 pp.

With the tercentenary of the Restoration much in people's minds, it is not unexpected to find organisations concerned with local history turning their attention to the impact of the Great Rebellion on their localities. Last year the Kent County Archives Office published, in its "Kentish Sources" series, transcriptions of documents illustrating this, under the title "Kent and the Civil War". Now the Suffolk Records Society have produced, under the able editorship of Dr. Everitt, a work on a similar theme, but more extensive and scholarly than the slender volume of the Kent Archives Office, which was not intended to do more than illustrate the material available in that office on the subject, and was meant for a less informed reader. Nevertheless, the works illustrate the differing impact of the Civil War on a county (Kent) mainly Royalist in outlook and a county (Suffolk) mainly Parliamentary.

The documents in the volume under review have been selected to show Suffolk's reaction to the Civil War and the effect the war had on the County's administration, society, towns and villages. They are divided into four sections. The first deals with the Committee of Suffolk and includes the Committee book, 1641-5 (the principal item in the volume) and select orders of the Committee, 1644-52. The second section consists of documents entirely relating to the Eastern Association. The third and fourth sections contain documents illustrating the effect on life of the Civil War, in a West Suffolk village (Exning) and an East Suffolk town (Ipswich) respectively.

Dr. Everitt, as well as providing important notes and references to the text of the documents, also contributes a most interesting and valuable introduction. In this he makes a re-assessment of the strength of the parliamentary support in Suffolk, and gives the history of the County Committee and the Eastern Association, and the relationship between them. A third section of the introduction deals with the effect in Suffolk of the formation of the "New Model" Army.

As with all books, the value of this work is enhanced by a good index.

As the editor says in his preface, the precise nature of the causes underlying the Great Rebellion is still unsettled, but this work, through the introduction and the documents themselves, does throw "light upon those causes in one corner of the country" and so worthily fulfills the expressed intention of the editor.

As with the previous publications of this Society, a word of praise is deserved for the good format of the book, with its clear type, and attractive and serviceable binding.

A. H. HALL

THE REGISTERS OF ESTATES OF LANCASHIRE PAPISTS 1717-1788. VOL. II: 1717. Edited by R. Sharpe
France. Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vol. cviii, 1960. vi + 189 pp.

This volume, edited by the County Archivist of Lancashire, is devoted to a second instalment of the registrations of the estates of Lancashire papists under the Act 1 Geo. I cap. 55, of 1715, 'to oblige Papists to register their names and real estates'. The act sets out that, since 'all or the greatest part of' the papists have 'been concerned in stirring up and supporting the late unnatural rebellion . . . it is highly reasonable that they should contribute a large share to all such extraordinary expenses as the rebellion has occasioned'. It envisaged the money being collected either by seizing two-thirds of their estates 'already forfeited by law' or by imposing a special tax *in lieu*. It directed that those papists who had attained their twenty-first year on 24 June 1716 and had refused certain oaths and declarations, must specify the interest they had in any lands, tenements or hereditaments.

What is the value of these registrations to the Catholic historian of Lancashire? He will, if he is wise, take with a grain of salt the Act's assertion that 'all or the greatest part' of the papists had supported the rebellion. I doubt if it is true of Lancashire: it is certainly untrue of England as a whole. He will be on his guard against assuming that the registrations amount to a census of Lancashire Catholics. They do not even purport to deal with anyone unless he had attained his twenty-first year and owned house property or land. Nor is it certain that all such people did in fact register. He will find evidence (of which he was probably already in possession) that a large number of Lancashire families, and curiously that three Staffordshire families (the Fleetwoods, the Fowlers and the Erdeswicks), the Devonshire family of Clifford and the Yorkshire family of Belayse, were Catholics. What will be wholly new to him are the Catholic families in humbler walks of life—yeomen, apothecaries, masons, tailors, watchmakers, husbandmen, tanners, shoemakers, joiners, gardeners, maltsters, linen-weavers, innholders and reedmakers.

The student of economic history, particularly of agricultural conditions, will learn much about the terms of agricultural leases. They seem to have been invariably for three lives. Did this system give the tenant's family an even greater security of tenure than the Agriculture Act of 1947? They comprised, very usually, three elements, a capital payment when the lease was granted, a money rent, and a rent in the form of boons and services. These were very various and include leading muck, keeping a fighting cock or a hound or a beagle or a spaniel, reaping corn, shearing, harrowing, ploughing, ditching, and the gift of eggs, hens, ducks or moorcock, the local name for grouse. The landed gentry of Lancashire were sportsmen.

THOMAS B. TRAPPES-LOMAX

THE COWDRAY ARCHIVES, PART I: A CATALOGUE. Edited by A. A. Dibben. The West Sussex County Council, Chichester, 1960. xxxviii + 187 pp., 9 pls., table.

In 1591, when the first Viscount Montague entertained Queen Elizabeth I at Cowdray House, his fine mansion was the centre of prosperous estates scattered throughout Sussex. Two hundred years later his successors had so reduced and mortgaged the properties that, when the house was destroyed by fire in 1793, no reconstruction could be attempted; only after the estates had been bought for the Earl of Egmont in 1843 were they again run profitably. The records of the estate underwent similar changes of fortune but had to wait longer for their rehabilitation; in 1954, however, they were deposited in the West Sussex Record Office, and the present catalogue is a result. In his detailed and scholarly introduction, Mr. Dibben traces the history both of the archive and of the estate insofar as it is relevant. His account of the borough of Midhurst, of which the lordship belonged to the Lords Montague, is particularly interesting, for this was an archetype of the rotten boroughs denounced by the parliamentary reformers; Mr. Dibben shows that it became so only in the mid-eighteenth century, and he describes the process by which this came about.

The list of the Midhurst records is, however, reserved for a second volume of the catalogue, and the present volume lists the other records of the estate. They are nearly all post-1600, but they include a fine series of estate maps and a group of letters to the sixth Earl of Egmont from his agent, which West Sussex historians will find curiously reminiscent of the letters of the Bishop of Chichester's steward, Simon de Senliz, some six hundred years earlier. Mr. Dibben's method of cataloguing is clear and sensible. No one will quarrel with his decision to disregard normal variations in spelling place-names and to give areas in acres only. The type of description of each document varies according to its importance; groups of late deeds for a single property are given a single entry, but many other items are calendared in detail, often with long quotations which make the catalogue itself a valuable historical source.

It is only in some aspects of its arrangement that the catalogue seems open to criticism. Why is a miscellaneous group of records placed at the beginning of the catalogue as 'Documents hitherto known as the Montague Papers'? It is noted (p. 26) that 'as explained in the Introduction, the numbers allotted to each of the Montague Papers has been retained'; but in fact the Introduction seems to make no particular mention of them at all. And when a student consults the catalogue's list of Manorial Documents and Leases, there is nothing to warn him that important items of both types of record are contained in this special collection at the beginning. It also seems unnecessarily confusing to list the maps in two groups, 'Maps and Official Plans' and 'Miscellaneous Printed Maps and Charts'; the latter hardly differ in character from many of the former group, yet they are separated by fifty pages of text from their fellows and, incidentally, are omitted altogether from the list of contents.

Fortunately these small defects are not irremediable, for the second volume will contain an index to the whole catalogue. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Dibben will make this as full as possible; a good subject index in particular will enable historians to give the attention it deserves to what is in many ways a model catalogue of the records of a landed estate.

P. D. A. HARVEY

SUSSEX POOR LAW RECORDS: A CATALOGUE. Edited by Jane M. Coleman. The West Sussex County Council, Chichester, 1960. xxix + 72 pp., 9 pls., 3 maps.

Although this catalogue is published by the West Sussex County Council alone, it lists the Poor Law Records of both divisions of the ancient county. Students will be grateful for this co-operation between the two authorities, and we may hope that other classes of records relevant to both parts of Sussex will be dealt with similarly. Although Lewes and Chichester have used slightly different systems of classifying their Poor Law records, this has not prevented the production of a compact and workable list of the two collections.

It is to be hoped, also, that the catalogue will lead other archivists to take a greater interest in the records of the Boards of Guardians. So far, only Somerset has produced a comparable printed catalogue, and Miss Coleman has clearly taken from the Somerset *Handlist* (1949) many features of this catalogue, such as the table showing the different types of record that have survived for each Union. In many ways, however, she has improved on this earlier catalogue. She has given fuller accounts of the complicated structure and history of the various Poor Law Unions, and instead of an index to the parishes, she has provided three neatly drawn maps which show at a glance where to find the records for any particular place at different periods.

But the most notable feature of the catalogue is its illustrations, which have been well chosen and are of great interest. Especially noteworthy are the photographs of some nine buildings still existing which formerly served as workhouses; besides the prison-like structures that one envisages, they include pleasant-looking country cottages to which many an

archivist would gladly retire in old age. The notes on the history of each Union confirm that Miss Coleman has done considerable work on the archaeological as well as the archival records of the Poor Law administration, and the result has been to make her catalogue a most attractive introduction to what many students might consider a rather forbidding field of research.

P. D. A. HARVEY

A GENEALOGICAL ATLAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES. Compiled from original maps by David E. Gardner, Derek Harland, Frank Smith. Salt Lake City, U.S.A., Desert Book Company, 1960. vii + 88 pp. Unpriced.

This volume appears to be intended as a companion to Smith and Gardner's *Genealogical research in England and Wales*, vol. 2, 1959. To some extent it remedies the, at times, almost illegible reproductions of the maps, from Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, which appeared as an appendix to Smith and Gardner's work. The plates on this occasion are clear and well-produced, and the locations of churches and chapels which are shown, together with administrative boundaries, make the volume a useful working manual for the genealogist. It is deplorable, however, that neither the name of the original cartographer is given nor the date of publication other than a statement in the introduction that the maps were "originally published in London more than 100 years ago". It would appear that the original maps have been cut up and laid down to suit the format of the present publication. In the process all clues to the authorship have been pared away. One would expect the practising genealogists who are responsible for the production of this book to have been aware of the need at all times to give the source of their information.

JOHN BROMLEY

MEDIEVAL HISTORICAL WRITING IN YORKSHIRE. By J. Taylor. St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 19. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, 1961. 32 pp., 4 pls. 3s. 6d.

That Yorkshire can muster a team of medieval chroniclers no less formidable than it can of cricketers, is well demonstrated by this little book, which offers short notes on the identity—when known—and work of a score of such notable figures as Ailred of Rievaulx, William of Newburgh, Roger Howden, or Walter of Guisborough. The book would, however, have been much better if the author had resolved more firmly what audience he intended to address, and what message he wished to convey. Whilst the information it provides is dressed up in a form that is unlikely to commend it to the layman, it lacks—most conspicuously in an appendix of MSS.—the strict attention to points of detail that is required by the expert. This is a pity, because the idea was a good one.

G. R. C. DAVIS

LEISURE AND PLEASURE IN ESSEX. Essex Record Publication No. 32. Chelmsford, Essex County Council, 1960. 28 pp., illus., some col. 2s. 6d.

In Miss Briggs' introduction to this handsome booklet she explains that it has been designed both as an independent commentary and as an illustrated souvenir of an exhibition with the same theme which took place at Ingatstone Hall. It consists of 36 illustrations with descriptive notes, depicting records, scenes and events (ranging in date from 1246 to 1882), to show the manner in which the inhabitants of Essex amused themselves in former ages. As Miss Briggs points out, it is inevitable that more should be known of the recreations of the upper and middle classes, partly because these classes will have been in a better position to record their activities and partly because the more popular amusements appear to have been frowned on by the authorities. Many forms of modern sport derive from pursuits which were once sternly necessary—the most obvious being hunting and archery—while some "folk" ceremonies have either survived or been revived to become, like the Dunmow Flitch, local institutions.

With the exception of a small number of illustrations which reproduce material in private hands, the items reproduced in the booklet are in the Essex Record Office. Two of them, coloured aquatints of Wanstead House and the Essex Hunt, have been excellently reproduced in colour, and indeed the general standard of reproduction is high, as the other booklets in the series have led one to expect. The earliest record illustrated, a portion of the proceedings of the Forest Court in 1246, relates to the hunting adventures of a London Jew called Samuel, in the Forest of Essex which once covered most of the county. Hunting is the subject of four of the illustrations but many other recreational activities are dealt with. The more interesting include part of the inventory of Sir John Petre's falconer in 1590; a report of the presenting at Quarter Sessions of Thomas Whistock of White Notley "with nync other of his fellowes" for playing a rather savage form of football in 1599; a delightful allegorical illustration from Quarles' "Emblemes" concerning the "illicitos lusus" of bowls; a cricket fixture list of 1790 and an amusing caricature showing the Epping Hunt taking place on hobby-horses instead of live quadrupeds. In the field of music and drama the illustrations include part of Chelmsford's churchwarden's accounts relating to expenditure on costumes for religious plays in 1562, part of a song by William Byrd and a Colchester playbill of 1798, while even entomology is represented, by a page of drawings of a butterfly from a common-place book of Dr. Benjamin Allen of Braintree, about 1730.

Altogether the booklet contains a comprehensive and carefully chosen selection of material, well presented, with informative notes, and has been attractively produced by the printers, Messrs. J. H. Clarke and Company.

JAMES L. HOWGEGO

NIGERIAN ARCHIVES

In 1958 the senior archivist of Nigeria, Mr. G. S. Waniko, submitted to the Director of the National Archives a scheme for the arrangement and classification of the records of the Federation. Study courses have left their mark on Mr. Waniko's proposals; he has been impressed by respect for fonds or provenance and he is much concerned with codes or class marks. "Kadmininter", for example, signifies the papers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs at Kaduna, although for some other papers "K" is sufficient indication of Kaduna origin. Wisely he rejects a rigid, ready made scheme and proposes to develop his classification according to the needs and nature of the records he receives.

Correctly he bases his scheme on a study of administrative background and finds government from 1849 can be divided into three periods. The records of the first period, of colonies, protectorates, native kingdoms and chartered company, are dead and can be assigned to the top floor of a repository, but some of the records of the second period continue into the third period and must be retained on a lower floor to facilitate additions. Should the requirements of accessioning or production take precedence?

He advocates a centralised and uniform system of administration although the records themselves will be divided among headquarters and branch repositories. An Accession Register gives rise to a Summary Inventory in alphabetical order of provenance, with necessary cross-references, which Summary Inventory is expanded into the Register of Classes by volume, box or piece. Mr. Waniko envisages indexes to persons and places and even more detailed Hand Lists and Special Lists as subject finding aids, and eventually a Guide "par excellence". Some listing and registering will be done locally but Headquarters will be informed and will hold the prime lists and inventories and will authorise class marks. How nice to start from scratch. It is most encouraging that one of the first steps of young nations like Ghana and Nigeria is to provide for the organisation and administration of their archives, a lesson that took Britain centuries to learn.

PHILIP E. JONES

THE SOCIETY'S CHRONICLE

IN MEMORIAM

SIR HILARY JENKINSON

Hilary Jenkinson's death came suddenly, and even now that many weeks have passed it is hard to believe that he has really left us.* During the past year he had sometimes felt tired, so he said, and we knew that Lady Jenkinson's death had been a grievous blow to him; yet at the age of 78 he was still travelling between Horsham and London, as he had done for so many years, to attend and preside over committees of the British Records Association, the Society of Archivists, and the Historical Manuscripts Commission, to meet and discuss archive questions with his colleagues, or to expound and press some new and far-reaching plan over lunch at the Athenaeum. He was still closely bound to so many of us by ties not only of respect, loyalty, and affection but of innumerable everyday affairs. Now the ties are all suddenly severed. It is hard to believe that there will be no more letters, arrayed in paragraphs and parentheses and sonorous with capitals, in that fine rapid hand, and no more telephone calls in the quite uncharacteristic voice, brusque and excited, which the telephone seemed to evoke from Jenkinson. It is harder still to stand back in so short a space and to consider him and his achievement as, one day, historians will do.

Just after his death one of the big illustrated weeklies printed a photograph of Jenkinson with the caption "A Great Archivist", and in that simple phrase we may perhaps find the key to what he did and what he was. For what could that phrase have meant when, more than fifty years ago, Jenkinson first entered the Public Record Office? There were no archivists in England then, as we in this Society know them now. There was one record office, the Public Record Office, and its senior staff were Assistant Keepers; men of learning and ability, but in their training and tastes more akin to historians and men of letters. Among them Jenkinson took his place, and his work upon the arrangement, listing, and publication of records, not only at the Office but for the Surrey Record Society of which he was a founder, earned him a resounding reputation as a "record scholar". But it was not his way simply to continue, however well, work already started by others and upon lines already laid down. It was his way (and here we touch the quality which raised him above the common level) to think out and explore to its limits and foundations every idea which engaged his attention and every activity to which he set his hand. In this spirit he surveyed the whole work of the Public Record Office: its links with the Ministries, the transfer and scheduling of records, storage and repository arrangements, classification, the making of lists and calendars, production and access, binding and repair, the practical study of palaeography and diplomatic; and where his predecessors had for the most part been content to work (albeit with great distinction) in their allotted spheres, Jenkinson saw the work as a whole. This was his own, and his greatest, contribution. Binding and repair might be too banal an occupation for a scholar, palaeography beyond the range of a craftsman; very well—a new being must be called into existence, capable of comprehending, practising, and directing all these divers activities; and he should be that now familiar blend of scholar, craftsman, and administrator, the Archivist. To Jenkinson, more than to any other man, we owe the founding of our profession in England.

The course of Jenkinson's career has already been traced in detail in the memoir prefacing the *Festschrift* of 1957 and in the bibliography of his own writings printed in the same volume; and μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος this

* The substance of this memorial was spoken at the Annual Conference of the Society at Chelmsford, on May 5th, 1961.

is not the moment to rehearse it again. But we have seen him described as "A Great Archivist", and great things are not accomplished by small men. No one could be in Jenkinson's company for long without realising that he was a man above the common stature. He was a leader: he had the leader's vision in council, courage in decision and action, and will to press forward and draw others to follow him. He was not one of those who sap their friends' energies; he imparted to others his own force, and to work with him—especially when things were not going well—was an exhilarating adventure. He was a memorable teacher, communicating to his pupils his own enthusiasm and single-hearted absorption in the subject of study. And behind the changing *personae*—for he did not choose to be easily accessible, and he delighted in mystification—was a man of deep and intense feeling, who could win and hold the affection of his friends. He could delight them, too, with his wit, his hospitality, and the small kindly attentions which are the salt of friendship. Sometimes in the course of affairs his advocacy failed, and those whom he had hoped to win as allies became his opponents; but behind the stern and formidable front which he then turned to them was private distress and misgiving, and in his opposition there was nothing vindictive or malevolent—only a deep conviction that he was on the right course and must, at whatever cost, pursue it to the end. There was in him the quality of greatness. No one can take his place, and we shall miss him sadly.

ROGER H. ELLIS.

RICHARD HOLWORTHY

Richard Holworthy, the founder of this Society, died at the age of nearly 75 in Rochester Hospital on March 7. He was the son of the late Mr. Frederick Myln Holworthy and spent most of his early life in Bromley, Kent, but received his education at St. George's School, Harpenden. He married Grace Cherry who was the sister of Sir John Cherry and died in 1933.

Early in his career he met Miss Dorothy Olivia Shilton and they entered a successful partnership as "Record Agents". Holworthy never claimed to be an Archivist in the modern sense of the word, whereas Dorothy Shilton was a scholar and an expert palaeographer and translator. While she did most of the research work, Holworthy attended to the business side and was able to give up much of his time in cultivating close friendships with his clients. Holworthy and Miss Shilton were to be seen at the same table in the Legal search room at the Public Record Office every day over a long period of years.

In 1935 Miss Dermot Harding, the first County Archivist of Somerset and subsequently of Kent, resigned her Kentish appointment and Holworthy at once telephoned Mr. Platts (later Sir William Platts), the Clerk of the Kent County Council. He explained that his attention had only just been drawn to the vacancy. As it happened, interviews for the appointment had been arranged for that very day but the Clerk said he could attend if he wished to do so. As a result Holworthy and Miss Shilton (by then Mrs. Holworthy—they had married in 1934) were appointed joint Archivists of Kent. He inherited Miss Harding's plans for the fine repository at Maidstone which is still the envy of many County Archivists. By his energy and determination he managed to get the plans implemented shortly after his arrival at Maidstone. The great drawback was that the new Archivists inherited no staff and there ensued a fifteen year period of struggle against many obstacles of a varied nature. It was perhaps to Holworthy's disadvantage that the Clerk himself took a great personal interest in archive and had served on the Council of the British Records Association on many occasions. However, the dogged determination of Richard Holworthy overcame these difficulties.

His main achievements were the amassing of a considerable quantity of private archives, the bringing-in of the records of twenty-five Boards of Guardians, and the negotiating of the transfer to Maidstone of the Canterbury Diocesan Probate Records. This led to the subsequent transfer of the Rochester and of the various Peculiar Probate Records for Kent.

It was typical of Holworthy that although faced with administrative difficulties, he persuaded successive High Sheriffs to commemorate their year of office by the purchase of some of the more important Kentish material including a charter of a Kentish King.

Holworthy's name did not often appear in print but he did publish, in collaboration with Miss Shilton, in 1932, a volume of *High Court of Admiralty examinations 1637-8* with an excellent introduction (Anglo-American Records Foundation, vol. 2), and edited from 1913-20 a genealogical Journal entitled *The British Archivist*. Parts of this appeared every month until the first World War interrupted their publication, and from September 1914 to May 1920 issues came out spasmodically; the last issue was published in May 1920. Two belated *Supplements* to this journal were also edited by him and published in 1922: a small volume of abstracts of the *Dew (family) wills and administrations* in the probate records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; and a valuable transcript of *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Church and churchyard of [St. Peter and St. Paul] Bromley, co. Kent*. During the years 1923-5 he prepared, jointly with Miss Shilton, an extensive schedule in two folio volume of the ancient deeds deposited in the Guildhall Library, London, by the Trustees of the London Parochial Charities, to this day an indispensable aid to both searchers and staff.

Upon his retirement he and his wife lived in great happiness in their comfortable house at Bearsted near Maidstone, surrounded by books, valuable paintings and collections of antiques.

It was in 1946 that he conceived the idea of forming a Society of Archivists, or rather of Local Archivists, as it was then called. He was appointed its first Chairman and continued to hold that office for three years.

A. R. BROOKE-CAWS

On March 24 there died in London, little over a month before his 58th birthday, Alfred Richard Brooke-Caws, for over a quarter of a century Archivist and Curator of Historical Collections of the renowned London Banking House of Coutts & Co. Born on May 1, 1903, he entered service with the firm at their headquarters in the Strand in May 1921, first as a clerk, and was subsequently active in various departments. Soon, however, his employers became aware of his lively interest in the firm's history and records, and when he had reached sufficient seniority he was entrusted with the control and custody of the rich archives of the Bank. His knowledge of the historic past of Messrs. Coutts and of that of the firms affiliated with them was unrivalled and what he had learned he freely imparted to others eager for information, as a great many research students will gratefully acknowledge. With his ceaseless work on the extensive and well-arranged manuscript records and other collections in his care he combined detailed studies in London topography and genealogy and became a trusted, and always entertaining, guide and lecturer to many antiquarian associations. An early member of our young Society, he was rarely absent from a meeting of the South-eastern region. His many colleagues and friends will miss his kindly presence. To his widow we offer our sincere sympathy.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE, CHELMSFORD, MAY 5th and 6th, 1961

What is probably the largest Record Office outside London attracted a large gathering for the Society's Annual Conference. It opened with a visit to Ingatestone Hall which acts as a Branch Record Office and Exhibition and Lecture Hall for the Essex Record Office. The current exhibition was "Elizabethan Essex" to celebrate the visit of Elizabeth I to the Hall in 1561, and it is unfortunate that the counter-attractions of coffee and meeting one's colleagues again prevented the exhibits being given the attention they deserved.

From Ingatestone we returned to Chelmsford to lunch at the Lion and Lamb on the invitation of the Chairman of the County Council. Alderman Williams deputised for the Chairman, and, despite a tendency to describe us as members of a more senior profession, made the Society thoroughly welcome. Lunch was followed by the serious business of the conference—the business and discussion meetings. For the first time in its history the deaths of three members were reported to a business meeting. A tribute to Sir Hilary Jenkinson and his work for the profession was given by Mr. Ellis, and a biography of Mr. Holworthy, the first Chairman of the Society, by Colonel Le Hardy. A letter from the Chief Archivist of Poland condoling with English archivists on the death of Sir Hilary was read by the chairman. The chairman's report dealt with such well-worn subjects as the Boundary Commission, archive legislation, out of print *Journals*, and salaries, in all of which there had been developments. At the end Colonel Le Hardy invited the Society to hold its 1963 conference at Hertford.

At the discussion meeting the speakers were Mr. J. G. O'Leary, Librarian of Dagenham, on the relationship between Libraries and Record Offices; Mr. W. R. Powell, editor of the Essex Victoria County History, on that body's connections with our profession; Dr. H. E. Priestley on the use of records in adult education work; and Mr. A. F. J. Brown on the Record Office and Schools. Although most of the lecturers chose to refer to specific examples in the Essex Record Office and discussion was curtailed by lack of time, the four speakers gave us some idea of our consumers' reactions. At the Society's dinner afterwards our guests were the *Custos Rotulorum*, Mr. William Addison, and the Clerk of the Council.

On Saturday morning the Society toured all parts of the Record Office at County Hall. The highlight was undoubtedly Miss Grieve's exposition of how a search room ought to be run. In the afternoon came a visit to Maldon where the Plume Library and the Moot Hall were shown by the Librarian and the Mayor respectively. Maldon is a very pleasant town to linger in, but we were swept away to Beeleigh Abbey where Mr. W. A. Foyle showed us his home and manuscript treasures. An even swifter return to Chelmsford brought to an end a conference for which Mr. Emmison, Mr. Holmes, and the rest of the staff had worked so hard and so successfully.

C. E. WELCH

CHANGES IN THE MEMBERS' LIST

NEW MEMBERS

U.K.

Member

PEEK, Miss H. E., M.A., F.S.A., A.R.H.S., Taintona, Moretonhampstead, Devon. (University of Cambridge).

Associate Members

CARR, A. D., B.A., Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford (Essex C.C.).

JONES, A. G., B.A., University College Library, Bangor, Caerns. (University of North Wales).

COMMONWEALTH

Member

KATHPALIA, Y. P., M.Sc., 11-A/37 Western Extension, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5, India (National Archives of India).

Associate Member

MIDDLETON, H. G., M.B.E., B.Sc., Cavendish Lodge, Devonshire, Bermuda (Colonial Archives).

RESIGNATIONS

DENHOLM, Miss S. M. C., M.A.

DODWELL, C. R., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

GAYDON, A. T., B.A.

HALL, Miss S., M.A.

HOLMES, J. H., M.A.

MORLEY, J. H., B.A.

MORRIS, Miss P. H., B.A.

AMENDMENTS

U.K.

ANDREWS, A., F.L.A., address now 45 Burnside Way, Northfield, Birmingham 31.

BLANCHARD, Miss S. R., B.A., address now Northamptonshire Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton, now employed by Northants Archive Committee.

COTTRILL, Mrs. E., M.A., address now Sunnyside, Twyford, nr. Winchester.

FINCH, Miss M. E., M.A., Ph.D., address now Lincolnshire Archives Office, The Castle, Lincoln.

LLOYD, C. M., B.A., address now Lincolnshire Archives Office, The Castle, Lincoln.

MILES, Miss H. E., B.A., address now 60 Greenhayes Avenue, Banstead, Surrey.

NAYLOR, Miss M. A., address now 372 Station Road, Rainham, Gillingham, Kent (Kent C.C.).

OWEN, A. E. B., M.A., address now 21 Whitewell Way, Coton, Cambridge, now employed by Cambridge University Library.

OWEN, Mrs. A. E. B., M.A., address now 21 Whitewell Way, Coton, Cambridge.

RENSHAW, Miss M. A., M.A., now Mrs. M. A. Welch, M.A.

SAUNDERS, Mrs. A. L., B.A., address now 38 Froggnal Court, London, N.W.3.

SEAMAN, Dr. W. A. L., address now Durham Record Office, Shire Hall, Durham, now employed by Durham C.C.

SMITH, B. S., M.A., address now Records Office, Clerk of The Council's Dept., Shire Hall, Gloucester, now employed by Gloucestershire C.C.

VARLEY, Mrs. J., M.A., F.S.A., address now Lincolnshire Archives Office, The Castle, Lincoln.

WILLIAMS, Miss N., B.A., address now The Old Coach House, Bull Lane, Lewes, Sussex.

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